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22 May 1985

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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22 May 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CSSR, FRG CP'S HOLD TALKS IN DUESSELDORF

LD270958 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 26 Apr 85

[Text] Talks were held at the headquarters of the German Communist Party in Duesseldorf today between Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, and a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee headed by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. Petr Nemec, our correspondent, has more details.

[Begin Nemec recording] In a comradely discussion, Herbert Mies briefed the Czechoslovak guests about the talks facing the German Communist Party in the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, and about preparations for the 8th Party Congress which will be held in Hamburg in May of next year. On this occasion he singled out the contribution made by the successes achieved by the countries of the socialist community, and also to the struggle of West German Communists for social and political rights.

Jozef Lenart paid tribute to the activity of the German Communist Party and its loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The representatives of both Communist Parties noted in the course of their discussion that it is shameful and scandalous that at the very time when mankind is marking the 40th anniversary of the liberation from fascism and the end of World War II, imperialism is attempting to take further steps toward war preparations by militarizing space.

Comrades Mies and Lenart also rejected the attempts of the militaristic and revanchist circles to question the postwar arrangement in Europe. During an exchange of views on the situation in the international communist and workers' movement, both representatives underlined the need for its unity.

Comrade Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, presented an Ernst Thaelmann plaque to Comrade Jozef Lenart as an expression of acknowledgment for the contribution to the development of cooperation between both communist parties.

Late in the afternoon the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee paid homage to the memory of important representatives of the German Communist Party by laying wreaths at their memorial. [end recording]

CSO: 2400/377

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SHIFT NOTED IN EAST BLOC 'JUST WAR' CONCEPT

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 18 No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 22 Dec 84) pp 34-39

[Article by Johannes Kuppe, PhD, department head at Gesamtdeutsches Institut: "New Aspects in Communist War Theory"]

[Text] In the present world political situation numerous observers in East and West especially deplore the fact that aside from the increase in the real, thus objective, dangers to peace (e.g., the stockpiling of weapons potentials surpassing every "reasonable" measure), the perception of the enemy assumes increasingly irrational features. In other words: whether the adversary is actually capable and willing to carry out the threat fades to insignificance when compared to speculation of this threat, the objective threat analysis against the subjective (sometimes comprising entire peoples and their decision makers) threat perception. For decisions to increase armaments, however, false threat perceptions can be just as significant as the real threat with force or its direct employment.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore it is especially important for the West also to recognize how the adversary perceives a specific international situation and possibly reacts to it. This applies especially to such central categories as war and peace. How they are interpreted in the Marxist-Leninist theory permits not only inferences concerning their current propagandistic use (which did not happen to be of particular interest to us) but provides us with information on whether and how changed circumstances, e.g. in the international scene, influence the decision making thinking of the Eastern power elite or at least--to start with--the party experts. From a specific occasion, some new aspects in terms of trends in the Marxist-Leninist war theory are to be pointed out.

I. Beginnings of a Change in the Theory of Just and Unjust War

Occasion for the following considerations is a fundamental article, remarkable in many respects, in the Hungarian periodical KULPOLITIKA (No. 3/1984, p 31 ff, translated by the language service of the Foreign Office, Bonn) under the heading "Social and Political Trends in Europe and Their Effects on International Relations."

Its author, Gyula Horn, is regarded as Kadar's foreign policy adviser in whose entourage he recently also participated in the visit to France by the

Hungarian party chief. KULPOLITIKA is the house organ of the Hungarian Institute for Foreign Affairs. For these reasons this article should probably be regarded as semiofficial expression of opinion of the Hungarian party and state leadership.

The tenor of the article can be interpreted as a comprehensive plea for continuation of the detente policy between East and West and in many points as indirect criticism also of Soviet positions. Horn deduces the necessity for a continuation of the detente process among other things from the fact that in a "new world war...the mutual possession of nuclear weapons rules out the victory of either side because the war would have hardly any survivors."

A little later it is then stated:

"It is a reality of our epoch that the duel of the two opposing social systems cannot be decided by weapons; it can be concluded from this that in this connection the concept of the just war loses its meaning."

This completely contradicts the official theory of war thus far advocated in the Warsaw Pact states. Therefore the question arises whether Hungary (still) stands alone with this view or whether in the meantime there are also differentiating statements in other Warsaw Pact states on these problems, especially in the GDR.

## II. The Discussion in the GDR

In the GDR the view was held, at any rate in the 70's, which Defense Minister Hoffmann summarized in the following sentences in December 1975 when an "honorary doctorate" was conferred on him at the "Karl Marx" party college:

"In other words, we do not share the view advocated even by progressive people in the peace movement that a just war is no longer possible in the nuclear age and nuclear missile war also would no longer be a continuation of the policy of the fighting classes but nothing more than a nuclear inferno, the end of the world."<sup>2</sup>

This statement was sharply criticized in East and West, first for ethical reasons. The justification of certain wars (so-called socialist defensive wars) expressed therein moreover was felt to be especially threatening because GDR military theoreticians combined them with a justification for the use of indirect and direct force in the "anti-imperialist struggle for peace."<sup>3</sup>

An encyclopedia published in the GDR in 1980 unmistakably summarized the prevalent theory: The theory includes the "war for the defense of the socialist fatherland," the "national liberation and defensive war against imperialist foreign rule" etc. as well as the "revolutionary civil war against reactionary and counterrevolutionary forces" among the "principal types of just wars in our epoch."

Consequently, the unjust wars include the "war of imperialist powers against socialist states," the "colonial war of imperialist and other reactionary

powers against national liberation movements," the "counterrevolutionary civil war," and the "mutually unjust wars between imperialist powers."<sup>4</sup>

Whoever questions this logically, systematically, and ethically questionable typology in the face of threatening nuclear clashes will see himself especially challenged by two officer professors of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy in Dresden. W. Scheler and G. Kiessling in 1981 expressly expanded the justification of the official war theory valid until then also to a nuclear war.<sup>5</sup>

Not without cynicism did they note that not on the outcome of the war but "solely...on the nature of the war..." depends "its just or unjust character." The "conclusion is false," they said that the war "of the victim of aggression" has stopped "being just." While "a nuclear war which the most aggressive circles of imperialism include in their calculations and prepare for materially and ideologically" possesses an "unjust character in the highest degree," because the "continued existence of human society" would be "threatened to the extreme," "every defensive war forced upon socialism" would have "a just character without any qualifications" because it "defends the revolutionary achievements, civilization...." This argumentation probably was supposed to serve in the first place the strengthening of the socialist military morale in the GDR.

The fact that the SED did not have any success among the population with this argumentation in the past three years was demonstrated in the broad discussion within the autonomous GDR peace movement as well as in the clear rejection which the Protestant churches in the GDR in the meantime have given to the deterrence doctrine. The morally unacceptable and logically contradictory SED war theory for these reasons is now possibly being subjected, especially in its provocatively absurd core theses, to a cautious revision that--as will be shown in yet another example--has its advocates in the Soviet Union, too.

As early as 1983, the philosopher A. Tuerpe, a staff member of the Berlin Humboldt University who had come out with numerous publications, had dealt with the question of war and peace in a fundamentally new manner.<sup>6</sup> Tuerpe's attempt so-to-speak to develop a new ontology of war amazingly avoided every recursion to the typology of war that had been flogged to death up to this point but had become largely implausible, namely that division into just and unjust wars. These characterizing adjectives were no longer used by Tuerpe at all. He did persist (against "bourgeois ideology") that war remains "even in the form of a nuclear missile weapons war...a violent means of policy," but he omitted here and at all other corresponding places any indication of how to characterize such a war ethically. Instead Tuerpe introduced a pragmatic justification thus far not used in the GDR discussion for the point that a nuclear war by whomever conducted is senseless, i.e. it cannot be justified by anyone. Such a war--according to the author--"would stir up forces and violence of an unimaginable nature which would lead to immense destruction and losses even in the first days and hours. At this point... it has the tendency per se by its own dynamic to slip away from policy, whose continuation it undoubtedly is, as an instrument that can be managed."



Since Tuerpe did not restrict this statement with the note that such slipping away out of control could happen to the imperialists only, he probably wanted to provoke--indirectly--the conclusion that even an allegedly just socialist defensive war cannot be an instrument of policy that can be managed.

It is still too early to form a final judgment on the outcome of this discussion in the GDR. But undoubtedly something has started to move here in the area of especially fixed ideological core dogmas. Those who, within the limits of actually existing socialism, no longer want to accept the assertion of just and unjust nuclear missiles--a consequence of the traditional theory of war--are likely to feel strengthened by a Honecker statement who in an interview with the editors in chief of the party press said, among other things, that in a nuclear war "there would be neither victors nor vanquished."<sup>7</sup>

Thus the SED chief did not by any means correct his defense minister and the latter's 1975 declaration, as W. Seiffert asserted.<sup>8</sup> But Honecker, in stressing the same fate for victor and vanquished, so-to-speak officially refuted the military authors Scheler and Kiessling for whom, as we have seen, the character of the war ranks ahead of the outcome of the war as an assessment criterion.

That especially the GDR military theoreticians and propagandists are only slowly able to rethink is evident from a just published article by a Col E. Hocke in MILITAERWESEN.<sup>9</sup> The author, it is true, no longer repeats the old assertion of the just socialist defensive wars but replaces the old war typology by a no less nonsensical peace typology ("progressive, democratic, just peace versus reactionary, unjust peace by force"). Even where they continue to hold on desperately to the old terminology, it becomes evident that hardly any effect stimulating the "defensive morale" of socialism is to be hoped for from this terminology. Thus, for example, R. Bruehl writes:

"The armed struggle would have a just character on the part of the attacked socialist state also in this horrible, presumably last war."<sup>10</sup>

It is certainly doubtful whether the writer considers the statement about the horrible but just end to contain stimulation or consolation. Such formulations appear increasingly to be ideological withdrawal actions.

That the theoreticians in the SED have an especially hard time in these struggles, that the process of rethinking starts out only slowly and that relapses can probably not be excluded is demonstrated by an article by Manfred Buhr, the director of the Central Institute for Philosophy of the GDR Academy of Sciences in the DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE.<sup>11</sup> In the case of Buhr, whose article represents the abridged and revised version of his lecture at a joint conference of Soviet and GDR philosophers in the GDR in May 1984, it is true there is no longer this crude justification of so-called just (socialist defensive) wars, as we have heard for decades from the GDR, but there is the continued reminder that the "fundamental difference between the injustice of the calculated imperialist nuclear first strike and the justice of the socialist national defense" is not eliminated. But Buhr includes at least as a start the so-called 'problematics of war consequences' (end of civilization) thus far neglected or played down in GDR literature even though he does not want to

put it in the foreground to the disadvantage of the "problematics of the cause of war" (aggressiveness of imperialism). Thus Buhr had not yet completely relinquished the old attempts at justification, but he does no longer repeat them at the former customary, rather frighteningly low level.

But meanwhile the discussion seems to have reached a new stage also at a high party level, as can be gathered from the main lecture by Prof Erich Hahn (Central Committee member, chairman of the Scientific Council for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy) at the Sixth GDR Philosophy Congress (17-19 October 1984) in East Berlin.<sup>12</sup>

The SED apparently had posed the question to provide an answer from the Marxist-Leninist view to the political question as to the relationship of the general interest of humanity in the maintenance of world peace (Hahn: "interest of the species"!.) concerning specific class interests. In other words: Does peace have to be the supreme goal of all political efforts of the present time? To start with, only two passages are to be extracted from Hahn's differentiated, highly interesting answers:

1. The understanding of the SED of "peace as a supreme value" indicates "no qualifying whatsoever of the other values of socialism." But what is involved "in the ideological and political struggle is...to help" the "common interest" (in the maintenance of peace) "to a priority and unifying effect."

2. The "political point of view" of representatives of non-Marxist ideologies "to consider a nuclear war as inadmissible" is accepted by Hahn without the differentiation between just and unjust wars and unjust capitalist offensive wars announced prior to the end of the 70's.

### III. A Voice From the USSR

In the Soviet Union, too, there are indications that the outdated patterns of justification for the so-called just war, the socialist defensive war, are being relinquished or changed. An example is provided by the article of the respected Professor Shakhnasarov (member of the CPSU Central Committee) of the Academy of Sciences USSR, simultaneously president of the Soviet Association of the Political Sciences and Vice President of the IPSA (International Political Science Association), in the leading Soviet periodical VOPROSIY FILOSOFIY (5/84, pp 63-74)<sup>13</sup> under the heading "The Political Logic of the Nuclear Age." Shakhnasarov takes issue in relatively objective form with the statement of former U.S. Secretary of State Haig before the appropriate committee of the U.S. Senate (1981) who had said at that time approximately that (for U.S. foreign policy) there is "something more important than peace." Shakhnasarov called this a "logic of the political and military thinking prior to the nuclear age." He confronts this position with the demand for a logic in the nuclear age, which, among other things--and this has not been heard in this unambiguous manner from Soviet sources--must start from the following:

"The level of security under the conditions of nuclear confrontation is in an inverse ratio to the quality and quantity of the weapons of mass destruction accumulated in the world."



This insight may not yet be prevalent in the Soviet "military-industrial complex" but proves anew that Western critics of the arms race have found imposing fellow combatants in circles of the Soviet political prominence.

However, in our context Shakhnasarov's article is especially noteworthy since here, too, there is no mention at all of the traditional Marxist-Leninist characterization of war. Moreover the author sharply takes issue with the--by the way incorrectly cited--statement by Mao Zedong, "a nuclear world war is a permissible means for the creation of new conditions." (Mao, however, had "merely" stated that a nuclear world war by no means has to lead to the end of mankind and that "thereafter" there are definitely chances for a new beginning.) For Shakhnasarov there are "no political goals that would justify the employment of means that could lead to nuclear war."

It is true, this is not fundamentally new for Soviet comments since Shakhnasarov in the first place objects to the U.S. "first use option." However, his comparatively firm rejection of nuclear wars which is no longer limited by the reference to the just nuclear defensive wars of socialism constitutes a clearly new aspect. In this connection, what also appears to be important that all those voices within the "socialist community of states" that regard the justification ideology of the just wars as an impermissible reduction of the horrors of a nuclear war now can point to important statements also from the USSR.

#### IV. Assessment

The changed lines of argumentation in the ideologically fixed discussion on war and peace within the Eastern camp point to two possible causes:

1. The leadership has to take into account the deep-seated fear of war in the population, which cannot be countered by the official antiwar propaganda, and must reduce the spreading of simplistic friend-foe images concealing their own armament. Simple dichotomous world images increasingly lacks credibility. Military morale, socialist patriotism and the like can no longer be strengthened by adhering to the worn-out means-purpose relation (communist nuclear weapons are good because they serve the defense of socialism).
2. Military theoreticians and propagandists have massive competition in "civilian" intelligence. Shakhnasarov, Tuerpe and especially Horn are representatives of a direction within the established elite of the communist system of power who with ideas of their own that question the domain of military ideology, namely the authoritative determination of the general line of armament policy and its ideological justification. Finally, international communication seems to be not without influence especially in the nuclear age also on firmly established ideological thought patterns.

It cannot yet be fully assessed whether and to what extent a new view in the theoretical discussion concerning the character of wars will actually prevail within the really existing socialism. For the time being, it also remains uncertain whether and what effects this discussion can and will have on the real policy of the party leaderships. However, it can be assumed that long-term consequences for the decision makers can hardly be avoided. This optimism is

justified above all by the fact that, by adapting the Marxist-Leninist theory on war to the objective facts and needs of man which would increasingly like to see every war condemned, a rational element has been introduced into the ideological debate which can no longer be eliminated without new, greater losses of credibility.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. As early as 1975, R. Jervis, "Perceptions and Misperceptions in International Politics," Princeton 1975, especially p 382 ff, had described the theory of cognitive dissonance behind this finding and in doing so had shown that especially the wish of a decision maker to perceive a specific situation in a way that justifies his own decision significantly limits the possibility of the correct recognition of this situation.
2. H. Hoffmann, "Socialist National Defense," "From Speeches and Articles, 1974 to June 1978." East Berlin, 1979, p 221.
3. For example, S. Keil (lieutenant colonel, "Friedrich Engels "Military Academy, "On the Role of Force in the Present Struggle for the Safeguarding of Peace," In: MILITAERWESEN 8/79, pp 22-27.
4. "Dictionary of Foreign Policy and International Law," published by the Institute for International Relations at the GDR Academy of State and Legal Sciences, East Berlin, 1980, p 377.
5. W. Scheler/G. Kiessling, "Just and Unjust Wars in Our Time," Policy and National Defense series. East Berlin 1981, p 58 ff.
6. A. Tuerpe, "On Questions of the Dialectics of War and Peace in the Present Epoch." In: WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITAET BERLIN, 2/1983, p 187 ff.
7. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18/19 Aug 84, pp 1-2, reprinted in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, 10/84, p 1103 ff.
8. W. Seiffert, "The Nature of the Conflict Between the SED Leadership and Moscow," In: DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, 10/1984, p 1051, footnote 52.
9. E. Hocke, "'Pax Americana'--A Concept Against Socialism and World Peace." In: MILITAERWESEN 5/1983, p 10 ff.
10. R. Bruehl, "On the Role of Military Force in Social Revolutions," In: MILITAERGESCHICHTE, 5/1983, p 521.
11. M. Buhr, FRIEDENSKAMPF UND PHILOSOPHIE, No. 11/1984, p 961 ff.
12. Cf. the longer excerpt from Hahn's lecture, in SONNTAG, No. 45/84, p 9.
13. Reprinted in: SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, 5/1984, pp 451-462.

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CSO: 2300/350

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH GDR DISCUSSED--In Berlin on 24 April, J. Voracek, first deputy chairman of the CSSR State Planning Commission, and C. Schuerer, chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, discussed the further deepening of the CSSR-GDR economic and scientific-technological cooperation in the next 5-year plan. The coordination concerns, in particular, the chemical, and engineering industries, and microelectronics. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Apr 85 p 7 AU]

POLISH PAX DELEGATION VISITS--A delegation of deputies--members of the PAX Association arrived on 23 April from Poland to the CSSR for a "study sojourn." The delegation is headed by W. Lewandowski, first deputy chairman of the PAX Association and deputy chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). The delegation paid a visit to Prague Castle and saw other historical monuments, and in the afternoon was received at the Old Town Hall by representatives of the Prague City National Committee. [Summary] [Prague LIDOVA DEMOCRACIE in Czech 24 Apr 85 p 5 AU]

VISITING HUNGARIAN EDUCATION MINISTER--Miroslav Valek, member of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee and Slovak minister of culture, received in Bratislava on 22 April a Hungarian educational and cultural delegation, led by Bela Kopecki, minister of education and culture. They discussed the possibility of deepening further the two countries' cooperation in the sphere of culture, particularly as regards the exchange of cultural values. At the same time they informed one another about the preparations of the Days of Hungarian Culture in the CSSR. The visiting delegation was also received by Juraj Busa, Slovak minister of education. They informed one another, among other things, about topical problems in the two countries' primary, secondary, and university-level education. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Apr 85 p 2 AU]

VISITING GDR MINISTER--(CTK)--Otto Arndt, GDR minister of transport, arrived on 23 April in the CSSR for a 2-day visit at the invitation of Vladimir Blazek, CSSR minister of transport, to discuss the issue of mutual cooperation in transport. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Apr 85 p 2 AU]

JAPANESE NEWS AGENCY AGREEMENT-----Tokyo, 19 Apr (MTI)-----The delegation of MTI Hungarian news agency, headed by General Director Sandor Burjan, held talks with Watanabe Takeji, president of KYODO news service, on the development of bilateral cooperation, in Tokyo, from April 15 to 19. The parties signed an agreement on exchange of news and photographs. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1047 GMT 19 Apr 85 LD]

CSO: 2020/114

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR'S INDRA ADDRESSES LIBERATION DAY MEETING

LD231317 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 23 Apr 85

[Text] With international participation, a festive scientific meeting on the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army is taking place at the Political College of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague today. Pavel Andres has more details:

By fulfilling the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress we are developing the revolutionary heritage of the struggle waged by our people for liberation and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union--this is the central slogan of the meeting. After a ceremonial opening, Comrade Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly, took the floor.

He stressed that only a thorough examination of the history, and class assessment of the causes, course and consequences of the events, can shape our attitude to the present, the homeland and its friends, national pride, and the feeling of being part of all progressive forces in the world. From this angle the 9th of May 1945, the day of the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, is one of our most significant historical milestones.

Comrade Indra went on to recall the class causes of the origins of World War II, an imperialist war; a war whose aim was to have been the liquidation of the world's first socialist state--the Soviet Union. He also recalled the shameful Munich Diktat, and on the other hand, the enormous heroism of the Soviet people in defeating fascism and in connection with the liberation of our homeland.

Today, when many people are attempting to falsify history, reduce the role played by the Soviet Union in the defeat of fascism, it is necessary to remind people that it was the glorious Soviet Army, which fought the decisive battles of World War II and thus decided its course and results. In reply to our class enemies Comrade Alois Indra also recalled that the beginning of our national democratic revolution; the Slovak National Uprising; the subsequent struggle of our people for liberation; February 1948, as well as the consequent 40 years-long development of our homeland, are testimony to the fact that our socialist revolution was and is a Czechoslovak one, as well as to the fact that the socialist road taken by our people, led by the CPCZ, sprung from its greatest wishes and aspirations.

If we can today talk about the dignified position our state occupies in the world, broadly-based rights and high living standards enjoyed by our people, this, too, is the result of our 40 years-long socialist road, which began with our liberation by the Soviet Army.

At the close of his speech Comrade Indra stressed that the development of comprehensive cooperation and the strengthening of our alliance with the Soviet Union is our great obligation to which we are committed by the experiences of our people, the interests of socialism and peace, and also of the security of our state.

The festive meeting is now continuing with speeches by representatives of foreign delegations.

CSO: 2400/377



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE REPORTS FURTHER ON INDRA LIBERATION DAY SPEECH

LD232345 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1330 GMT 23 Apr 85

[Text] A festive scientific meeting with an international participation on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army is taking place at the Political College of the CPCZ Central Committee today. The main speech was made by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly. We shall now tell you of some ideas from his speech:

[Begin Indra recording] Socialist Czechoslovakia is today an industrially advanced state with a modern agricultural sector; socialism has a firm material-technical base in our country. The development of the economy has also made it possible to carry out purposeful social policy in all areas of the life of our society and individuals. In all basic indicators, which are used to measure living standards, Czechoslovakia occupies a very dignified position.

A great deal has been done to democratize life in our society, to develop socialist democracy, so the working people can actively participate in managing public affairs. Citizens have the opportunity to assert their views in social and interest-based organizations, in political parties, and in representative bodies. The competence of the national committees, determined by the constitution and the law, has created conditions that enable them to carry out activities within their particular province, to exercise care to satisfy the needs of citizens, and to ensure the development of their villages, towns, districts, and regions. The composition of the national committees corresponds to the social structure of the population; it expresses the leading role played by the working class in our society, their alliance with the class of cooperative farmers and other strata of working people. The legislative bodies are above all working bodies. They are asserting ever more intensively and on a qualitatively higher plane their supervisory rights vis-a-vis the executive bodies. In this way, coupled with the ever closer links with the electorate, they are fulfilling the well-known Leninist thesis that in socialism the people themselves make the laws, carry them out themselves, and supervise their observance themselves.

We also regard the fact that a federative set up of our republic has been realized as important evidence of democratism in our society. Thereby we have ensured the fulfillment of the original target program of the CPCZ for



the full equality of our two fraternal nations of Czechs and Slovaks, and at the same time the full equality as citizens of all other members of ethnic minorities. Equal rights and the same responsibility of nations and ethnic minorities encourage their socialist initiative and strengthen the unity of the common, federative state.

The Czechoslovak experience confirms that socialism alone can resolve such sensitive problems, which the bourgeois system never knew how to solve.

Building advanced socialism and improving it is undoubtedly a continuous revolutionary process. It continues to set fresh historic tasks, the resolution of which will help to change quantity into quality. In Czechoslovakia, too, we are having to tackle the problems of transition to a highly intensive economy via new technology. And it must be on a level to correspond not only to present but also future demands and to enable us to achieve high social labor productivity. Seeking out ever more effective methods of planning and managing the national economy also contributes toward achieving this end, coupled with creating conditions for greater independence of enterprises and at the same time for their higher responsibility toward the needs of society.

Just distribution, the application of the socialist principles governing remuneration for labor, a vigorous fight against manifestations of harmful egalitarianism and encouraging the initiative of both collectives and individuals--including moral incentives--form an integral part and indeed a condition of this effort. A great deal must also be done to make maximum use of the possibilities provided by socialist democracy, to deepen it, increase the participation of working people in production management and the resolution of both local and community affairs. In this respect bourgeois democracy, which is nothing else but a cloak covering capitalist class domination, cannot, of course, be an example to us.

Our experience also confirms the fact that the resolution of all tasks of building and perfecting advanced socialism must be accompanied by a lively and effective ideological practice by the party, the socialist state, and all society. The exactness of our internal tasks and the complexity of relations in the class-divided world call for people who are well-educated and politically aware with a high cultural standard of life, determined fighters for the strengthening of working, technological, and civic discipline and for the elimination of all manifestations of social injustice and parasitism. It is certain that the 17th Party Congress will pay attention to all these problems according to their urgency. [end recording]

CSO: 2400/377

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COMMENT ON HOWE VISIT, UK HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD

AU241918 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Apr 85 p 7

[Commentary by Lubos Pelc: "'Human Rights'--English Style"]

[Text] The visit of Mr Geoffrey Howe, Her Majesty's Government's foreign secretary, to Czechoslovakia, which was designed to lead to understanding and to strengthening contacts between our homeland and Great Britain, has touched off a downright storm of passions in the British mass communications media. It is as though Sir Geoffrey had come to Czechoslovakia to declare hostility for us. A peculiar race has started in Shakespeare's country--to heap as much dirt on Czechoslovakia as possible. This race has been joined even by masters of the pen who not only have never been to our country but who, like the aforementioned classic author, believe that our country lies at the shore of the sea [a reference to Shakespeare's "A Winter's Tale," in which Bohemia is a maritime nation] and that, if we dare to make ourselves heard, Her Majesty's Navy will teach us that speech is silver, silence is golden. There are many examples in the history of the formerly largest colonial power of fire from heavy-caliber battleship guns not only silencing many, but even forcing them to start singing God Save the King....

Times have changed. The British lion may have retained his appetite, but he has lost his teeth. What has remained is a heavy artillery of lies, calumny, and slander. It is bombarding Czechoslovakia from all calibers, worse than during the Boer War. Journalists are literally vying in their dramatic descriptions of the visit to a tavern, which Mr Howe visited at his own request, supposedly just to give some members of his entourage the chance to meet some "dissidents." It is still unknown whether anyone will be awarded the famous "Order of the Garter" for this display of heroism worthy of James Bond. After all, the only reason for Sir Geoffrey to sing at the top of his voice while sipping his wine was, allegedly, to divert the attention of his hosts.

However, this is still not enough for the hardened nerves of cold-blooded Englishmen used to the marvels of colonial wars. The British gutter press specializes in horror. That is why some extra spice had to be added: Sir Geoffrey allegedly visited Cardinal Tomasek to support Czechoslovak Catholics in their struggle for "human rights."

Many a British reader must have shed a tear or two over the sad fate of Catholics in Czechoslovakia. Apparently, this should make them forget the fact that Her Majesty's Government sent its army against Catholics in Northern Ireland and made it shoot at them. A handsome number of them have been killed already. Why? These ungrateful persons and eternal rebels claim rights such as economic and political equality with the Protestant population. It is not enough for them to have the honor of being subjects of Her Majesty and, as such, having all "rights" except actual equality.

Believers in Czechoslovakia have the same rights as other working people and these rights are guaranteed by the Constitution. Socialism has also ensured religious tolerance in our country. Neither believers nor nonbelievers are unemployed. But all that is of no interest to British journalists.

Judge for yourselves: Is it not better for Her Majesty's Government to have its army shoot at Catholics in Ulster and to have its press lament their ordeal in Czechoslovakia? [sentence as published]

The main thing is that England has its "freedom of the press." This freedom allows it to lie, slander, spread hatred, and even approve of police brutality against striking miners or of shooting Catholics. This happens in the service of the rich, the owners of the press, which has never enjoyed, and does not enjoy, freedom from capital.

Well, all of this put together makes "human rights"--English style.

CSO: 2400/373

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR'S INDRA ADDRESSES OSTRAVA

ID271443 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0837 GMT 27 Apr 85

[Speech by CSSR Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Ostrava--live]

[Text] Esteemed friends and comrades, on the 30 April 1945 these words of the commander-in-chief of the Soviet Army, Stalin, were heard on Moscow radio: "The armies of the 4th Ukrainian Front have gained possession of the Town of Strava in Moravia, a great industrial center and important defense point of Germany in Czechoslovakia." Yes, it is now 40 years since the culmination of the significant Ostrava operation of the Red Army.

The inhabitants of Ostrava and its surroundings could once again be free. Many of those who lived through this happy moment are no longer among us. Gradually all those who personally remember it will leave us. But the memory of the people, the memory of the nation, is indestructible, part of our history. In this region the present and future generations will also eternally remember their liberators, the Red Army soldiers and their fellow fighters from the ranks of the Czechoslovak Army I Corps with respect and gratitude. They will recall that the liberators sacrificed 20,000 of their own lives in order to save the lives of the people of Ostrava, and to save their town, mines and important industry.

The names of Soviet and Czechoslovak commanders who led the Ostrava operation, Yeremenko, Moskalenko, Grechko, Kurochkin, Gastilovich, Zhdanov, Klapalek, Janko and Budin, will always remain engraved in the hearts of the people of North Moravia. We remember all the commanders and soldiers who fought under them. We will not forget the contribution of the members of partisan units and the heroic act of the young Ostrava patriot Milos Sykora. We also follow the example of the Soviet people and say, no one will be forgotten, nothing must be forgotten.

Comrades, humanity paid a great price for the mistakes, and above all for the anti-Soviet intentions of some imperialist politicians. The conciliatory backing away when faced with Hitler's demands and thus the stimulation of his aggression went through many stages and took many forms. In this category was the Munich dictate and then the sacrifice of mutilated Czechoslovakia, as well as the so called peculiar war on the Western front. Without any serious

resistance Germany occupied almost all countries of western, northern, central and southeastern Europe. The huge economic potential of all these states thus fell into the lap of the Nazi war machine. As a result of imperialist policy the conflagration of war engulfed the whole world.

After the attack on the Soviet Union, however, the character of the war changed. It could no longer be a case of dividing the world between imperialist super-powers. For the Soviet people it was the great patriotic war. The resistance of the nations enslaved by fascism could grow, and an anti-Hitler alliance was created. The brunt of the war was borne by the first country of socialism. The moral qualities of the Soviet people became prominent in difficult battles of retreat, then in grandiose operations of attack, and in the sacrifice in partisan actions.

Communists and nonparty members, Russians and those of other nationalities, with unprecedented heroism defended their homeland. They chased out the Nazi occupiers and brought freedom to the nations which had been enslaved. In the end they vanquished the fascist dragon in its lair. They raised the banner of victory over Berlin. All humanity was at that time amazed at the heroism of soldiers and other Soviet citizens. The sacrifices which the Soviet Union had to make were cruel, over 20 million lives, not to mention great economic damage.

What kind of anti-Sovietism full of hatred and base cynicism are those who today attempt to reduce the share of the Soviet Union in the defeat of German Nazism and Japanese militarism full of? They do not want to celebrate the victory of the allies so that they do not awaken the sympathies of the public towards the Soviet Union. They avoid the appraisal of its contribution to the salvation of humanity so that they can call it an empire of evil and develop plans of war against it. They do not honor the heroism of the fallen allied soldiers, they do not pay homage to the memory of the victims of the Nazi rule of terror, they are however preparing to lay wreaths at the graves of SS murderers and to take part in revanchist rallies of so-called refugees. Thus it is once again shown that an attitude to history is the measure either of progressiveness or of harping on the past.

We have always praised the self-sacrifice of the soldiers and commanders of the Western allies who fought against our joint enemy. It is impossible to hide the truth however. The extent of the military operation on the Eastern front, the amount of equipment and men used, is proof without doubt, that the greatest contribution to the defeat of Nazism was made by the Soviet Union.

Victory was forced by the organizational abilities of the Leninist Communist Party. It was decided by the advantages of a socialist social system, the political and moral unity of the Soviet people, the heroism of the Red Army soldiers, and the strategic mastery of Soviet commanders.

Esteemed friends, the betrayal of the ruling bourgeoisie flung our people for a whole six years into the terrible time of Nazi occupation. But even daily cruel terror did not force our people into bitter obedience. Thanks to the bravery of the working class and the decisive actions of the CPCZ, we never ceased the struggle for national liberty and state independence. The living



network of resistance organizations, anti-Nazi leaflets and newspapers, partisan actions, the Slovak National uprising and the uprising of the Czech people, proved that the Czechs and Slovaks are not waiting for freedom with their hands in their laps. About 360,000 of our fellow citizens died on the battle fronts, in Nazi executions and the hells of concentration camps. Hundreds of thousands of people returned with damaged health.

We must never forget how great the price of our freedom was. But even in the most difficult times a single star of hope lit the way for our people. It was a red star with a hammer and sickle, the symbol of the power of the people in all the [word indistinct] of the world--the symbol of the revolutionary unity of the proletariat of all countries, the symbol of the brighter future of the world. We were firmly convinced that the Soviet Union will be able to defend not only itself but that it will return freedom to all enslaved nations, that it will free Germany itself of the plague of Nazism. And we were not let down.

The armies of the first socialist country went along a path full of strife when they went through difficult battles in Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad to bring us freedom. More than 140,000 Red Army soldiers and thousands of Romanian and Polish soldiers sleep in our country eternally. Without the Soviet victory the Czechs and Slovaks would have ceased to exist as nations because the Nazis never made a secret of their plans to wipe us out. Again and again we must be aware that we are grateful above all to the Soviet Union, the bravery of its people, the heroism of its army, for our existence, for our national liberty and state independence.

Comrades, in the fight against fascists our people also strove as a class, as a socially and nationally just-liberated republic. Thanks to the considered policy of the CPCZ, thanks to the wisdom of Klement Gottwald, the wishes of the people became a reality. The representatives of the reaction, who after the war wanted to turn back the wheel of history were defeated; political power was taken over by the working class and its allies. The results which we have achieved in 40 years prove the justification and usefulness of socialist revolution. They prove that we did not waste the legacy of our anti-fascist resistance, that the sacrifices of our liberators were not in vain. Socialism changed the face of our country and brought a better life for its people. United in the National Front, led by the Communist Party, with the selfless help of the Soviet Union, thanks to the selfless work of millions we built up a huge industry, modern agricultural production, new housing estates and whole towns, countless cultural, educational, health, sport and social centers. In direct dependence on the national economy the standard of living of a wide stratum of workers grew.

We are achieving particularly significant successes since the 14th Congress of the CPCZ in implementing the program of building a developed socialist society. We have the right to announce proudly that socialist Czechoslovakia is an all-round developed country. Our homeland was an honorable place in the world when the standard of living of its inhabitants is considered.

Over the whole 40 years of liberated life, the workers of Ostrava and the North Moravian Region take a significant share in the building efforts of the

whole of our society. In many cases you were the first to solve complicated tasks and you were initiators of new forms of competition. We are convinced that you will greet the anniversary of our freedom this year, and then the 17th Congress of the CPCZ, with new successes in your work. You will no doubt fulfill this year's tasks in the spirit of your most progressive traditions, and will thus prepare yourselves for a successful entry into the Eighty 5-Year Plan. The Central Committee of the CPCZ, the government and all the people of Czechoslovakia sincerely thank you for all your self-sacrifice, for everything that you have done for socialism and peace.

We are sure that the workers of the North Moravian Region will be in the first ranks of the struggle for perfecting our society, in increasing the society's productivity of labor and quality of products, the development and use of modern technology, in making use of basic funds, in overcoming the damaging false egalitarianism in wages, in wiping out manifestations of social injustice and parasitism, in strengthening order of citizens at home and at work. These are the pressing demands of the day. Their implementation will be of benefit to our entire country and the honest working people. It is precisely the fulfillment of the tasks of construction which will prove the education level and culture of life of our people, their patriotism and socialist internationalism, their loyalty to the cause of socialism and peace.

Comrades, one of the most precious results of the decisive role of the Soviet Union in the defeat of fascism, one of the most precious fruits of the Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance, is the 40 years of life in peace. It is only the economic and defensive strength of the Soviet Union, it is only its consistent peace policy that we have to thank for the fact that the imperialists did not succeed in unleashing a new world war conflagration. Our alliance gives us the security to build a new society freely, it is a guarantee of our security, it protects us from the debasing role of meaningless pawns in imperialist policy. This is why, in the interest of our country and all the people of Czechoslovakia, we consider it our duty to deepen the Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance and to strengthen the unity of the Warsaw Pact member-states.

The latest proposals conveyed by Comrade Gorbachev prove the good will of the Soviet Union. They bear witness to its willingness and readiness to contribute to the success of talks about ending the spiral of the arms race, about reducing arms right down to total disarmament. Just as in the years of the Second World War, so also today the Soviet Union is the only realistic hope of humanity in the struggle for the preservation of a just peace.

Dear friends, on behalf of the delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the National Front and the Federal Government, we sincerely congratulate you on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Ostrava. I am happy to convey to you, and through you to all the inhabitants of the North Moravian Region, the personal greetings of Comrade Husak, who was originally looking forward to his meeting with you. In the name of all our people, Comrade Husak yesterday signed the extension of the Warsaw Treaty which secures us peace and safety also for the future.

Long live our liberator, reliable ally and most faithful friend, the USSR. May our dear homeland the Czechoslovak SR grow stronger and flourish.



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LENART-LED DELEGATION MEETS FRG CP MEMBERS IN HAMBURG

LD260612 Prague CTK in English 1645 GMT 25 Apr 85

[Text] Hamburg, April 25 (CTK correspondent)--A Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation led by party Presidium member and Slovak Communist Party First Secretary Jozef Lenart met here with representatives of the German Communist Party and Hamburg democratic organizations.

Jozef Lenart appreciated the activities of the German Communist Party in the struggle for the rights of the working people, against mass unemployment, and in the fight for peace, against war and fascism. He stressed that the historical experience proves that it is necessary to strive for uniting all progressive democratic forces in order to preserve peace. It is necessary that these forces be able to frustrate the aggressive attempts of the reactionary imperialist forces to impose on mankind their idea of world order.

The Czechoslovak delegation today inspected the car factory Volkswagen in Wolfsburg in the vicinity of Branschweig.

Later in the day, the delegation went sightseeing in Hamburg and was informed about the living conditions of its working people. At present, 14 percent of the people are out of a job and almost 180,000 live on social aid.

CSO: 2020/110

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HAVLIN ADDRESSES WRITERS CONFERENCE ON ROLE OF CULTURE

LD232323 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 23 Apr 85

[Text] Czech literature dealing with the fight against fascism is on the agenda of a 2-day international conference of writers which opened in Dobris today.

Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, delivering the opening address, underlined the historical importance of the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army 40 years ago and said that it enabled the Czechoslovak people to carry out revolutionary changes in social and economic life. The people successfully completed the national democratic revolution and started gradually to realize tasks connected with its transition into a socialist revolution. Comrade Havlin went on to recall the results achieved in the last 4 decades in constructing the socialist fatherland--these results demonstrate the unquestionable advantages of socialism in all spheres of society's life. Evaluating results already achieved and defining new program targets is and will continue to be a very demanding task for the entire party and all its bodies. The tasks we anticipate in the years to come demand new approaches and methods whose essence can be characterized as a synthesis of a courageous and creative amalgamation of existing plentiful experiences with a theoretically and practically supported, daring and dynamic approach to new problems. In this context Comrade Josef Havlin said that this means above all the well-known orientation toward consistently implementing an effective and dynamic development of the national economy and all our activity.

In the next part of his address he paid attention to culture in which we have followed the best progressive traditions and have started to develop new culture and art to correspond with socialism and its goals. The ultimate purpose of culture and arts is to make a most effective contribution to shaping a committed socialist man and to his education regarding his world outlook and his moral and aesthetic values. Genuinely great literature and art always fights against injustice, oppression, and violence, and in our time particularly against imperialism and neocolonialism. They deepen patriotism, pride in one's own nation and proletarian and socialist internationalism, and fight for world peace, detente, and cooperation between nations.

Comrade Josef Havlin condemned the aggressive policy of imperialism which subjected culture to new concepts of bourgeois nationalism, found its expression

in ideological expansion, in rejecting bilateral cultural exchanges, in usurping other countries' cultural values and in destroying their national identity. This is all taking place in an atmosphere of the whipped-up bellicose hysteria from the United States and its Western followers. In this context Comrade Josef Havlin pointed to the topicality of the words of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, who said that in the existing situation, the only sensible way out is for the two opposing forces to agree on immediately halting the senseless arms build up--nuclear arms in particular--on land, and on averting it in space.

At the close of his address Comrade Josef Havlin paid attention to the tasks of socialist literature from which we expect above all class loyalty in the struggle against reactionary tendencies and in strengthening the responsibility of the people so that they will stop and think about their own behavior and the purpose of their lives.

CSO: 2400/377

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARTY PRESS MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF LENIN'S BIRTH

AU241814 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 22 and 23 April devote several items to the 115th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin.

On 22 April, RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA both devote their front-page editorials to the anniversary. On 23 April, they both publish (RUDE PRAVO on pages 1 and 2 and Bratislava PRAVDA on pages 1 and 3) the 4,400-word speech by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a rally held in Prague's National Theater the preceding day to mark the anniversary (FYI comparison has been filed as AU241135). On the same day, RUDE PRAVO (on page 7) and Bratislava PRAVDA (on pages 1 and 7) also carry identical 2,000-word reports on a speech by Geydar Alyev at a similar rally in Moscow. In addition, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 22 April on page 3 carries a 2,100-word article by Emil Greif, director of the Lenin Museum in Bratislava, entitled "A Vigorous, Spirited, Triumphant Teaching," and on 23 April, on pages 1 and 3, the Slovak party daily carries a 3,000-word "excerpt" from the speech by Ludovit Pezlar, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, held at an anniversary rally in Bratislava on 22 April.

The 1,200-word RUDE PRAVO editorial of 22 April, entitled "The Life-Giving Strength of Lenin's Doctrine," stresses the "permanent validity" of Lenin's tenets, and views the CPCZ's "loyalty" to them as the "main source of all our successes." The 1,800-word Bratislava PRAVDA editorial of 22 April, entitled "The Unbreakable Force of Leninism," follows similar lines. It views the reality of the present-day world as proof of the "accuracy of Lenin's socio-political analysis and prognosis" and describes the fulfillment of the current tasks in "further improving the developed socialist society" as the best way of living up to Lenin's legacy. Both editorials highlight Lenin's ideas on the revolution, the economy, Marxist ideology, the party and its organization, and foreign policy and note their "lasting relevance."

The Emil Greif article in Bratislava PRAVDA on 22 April, on page 3, analyzes the importance of Lenin for the present, using the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee issued on the occasion of the 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth as the basis for its conclusions. Speaking about Lenin's "extraordinarily sharp and untiring struggle" against "attempts to revise Marxism, no matter what the pretext," Greif says: "Even today, the bourgeoisie has not

given up these attempts. By means of overt anti-Sovietism and anticommunism it strives to weaken the revolutionary, scientific, and militant nature of Leninism. Bourgeois ideologists are putting forward comprehensive 'programs,' proposing partial corrections and 'improvements,' and denying the law-governed nature of social development, the validity of the laws that, for objective reasons, resulted in the victory of socialism. They speak about communist over-emphasis of creative subjectivism, about political adventurism and in the same breath they draw from this conclusions about socialism being 'illegitimate,' about the right to set right so-called errors of history, and about the need to destroy socialism by any means." This obliges the communist parties, Greif continues, to the "defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against the attacks of its enemies."

The need to fight "deviations from Leninism" is also stressed in Pezlar's speech at the Bratislava anniversary rally. Pezlar says, among other things: "Experiences confirm that their attitude toward Leninism continues to be one of the most important criteria of the genuinely revolutionary nature of political parties, currents, and movements. The crisis of contemporary 'Eurocommunism' clearly shows that deviation from Leninism, deviation from a creative solution of problems on the basis of the further development of Lenin's teachings, leads into a blind alley. No political current or movement can play a progressive role in the present era if it rejects in principle, or attacks, Leninism. The relentless logic of class struggle in the present world will mercilessly cast him to the side of reactionary forces."

Responding further to the attacks of the "enemies of Leninism," Pezlar then says: "Our ideological and class enemies frequently accuse Czechoslovak communists of being very 'orthodox,' 'tough,' and inflexible, of being 'rigid' as they call it. In keeping with the famous words of the German revolutionary August Bebel, we should perhaps perceive it as praise, since it is our enemies who speak thus. This year our people will recall the 15th anniversary of the CPCZ Central Committee session of December 1970, which adopted the document 'Lessons Drawn From Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress.' Dearly bought experience obliges us to firmly guard the revolutionary gains of our people. We must not even for a moment forget Lenin's precept that revolution and counterrevolution are two dialectically interconnected aspects of the same process. And counterrevolutionary forces must not be given a chance! The development of the socialist political system, the improvement of socialist democracy--that is an objectively necessary and law-governed process. It consists, above all, of the enhancement of the working people's participation in the management of society and of the application of self-administration. However, it must on no account mean the creation of scope for the disruptive activity of forces that are hostile to socialism.

"We are being reproached for standing firmly by the side of our liberator and closest ally, the Soviet Union. We know very well from our own past experience what is hidden behind various theories about the 'limited validity' of Leninism to simply Russian conditions, or the theories about 'national' or 'democratic' socialism. Today, when we recall the 40th anniversary of the

liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, we again confirm our unbreakable determination to proceed firmly side by side with the Soviet Union and to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the world socialist community and the defense capability of our homeland. We are obliged to do this by our Marxist-Leninist conviction, internationalist sentiments, and communist honor."

CSO: 2400/373



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JAKES ADDRESS AT BRNO ANNIVERSARY RALLY

LD270006 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1225 GMT 26 Apr 85

[Address by Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the Brno 40th anniversary liberation rally--live relay]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, esteemed citizens, dear foreign friends: I am sincerely happy to have the task of congratulating all the citizens of Brno and its Moravian Region on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the city of Brno by the celebrated Soviet Army. Allow me to convey to you the comradely greetings of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Federal Assembly, the federal government, the National Front, and personal greetings from Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, president of the Czechoslovak SR, and from the delegation present.

On 26 April 1945 the Bratislava-Brno operation was victoriously completed by the armies of the 2d Ukrainian Front under the command of Marshal Malinowski with the liberation of the city of Brno. In honor of this victory a gun salute was fired in Moscow. Those who lived through the great days of the liberation of our towns and villages will never forget the feelings of great joy and relief at the fact that fascist slavery was over; the feelings of ardent love, honor, and respect for the heroic fight of our liberators. The Soviet people first and foremost bore the main brunt of the struggle with fascist Germany, made the greatest sacrifices on the front and behind the front lines, and made a decisive contribution to the victorious end of World War II and the salvation of world civilization.

The victory of the Soviet army brought liberty also to the nations of our country and thus opened the way for us, just as for other countries of Europe, to a new free life. We, and future generations, must never forget that our liberation and salvation was paid for above all by the lives of 20 million Soviet people. Thousands of partisans, soldiers of the allied armies, and antifascist fighters from the whole world layed down their lives alongside them. Almost 15,000 Red Army soldiers lost their lives in just the fight in South Moravia, for the liberation of South Moravia, and over 3.5 thousand Soviet soldiers fell in Brno itself. We must not forget that 360,000 citizens of Czechoslovakia laid down their lives for our liberty, and among them 1,441 were Brno resistance fighters.



Our people never came to terms with the fascist occupation. Even the most violent programs by the fascists did not succeed in breaking their resistance against the hated occupiers, even the planned murdering and sending thousands of people to concentration camps did not succeed in liquidating the struggle of the CPCZ and the true patriots. Our people carried out sabotage; with their Soviet brothers and brothers from other countries they waged a partisan war right up to the armed Slovak national uprising and the uprising of the Czech people. The Czechoslovak military units which came into existence under the leadership of Army General Ludvik Svoboda marched beside the Soviet Army along the long road of battle and victory from Buzuluk right to the territory of Czechoslovakia.

We are paying homage to the memory of those who lost their lives for our freedom. We are proud that we can say with clear conscience that their sacrifices were not in vain. We have made full use of the results of the national liberation struggle and the victory of the Soviet Union and the liberation of our country by the glorious Soviet Army, and under the leadership of the Communist Party, started to change the social and political situation in the country; to fulfill the program of the national and democratic revolution adopted by the government of the National Front in Kosice in April 1945.

Above all it was necessary to rebuild the national economy which was destroyed by the war; to set the factory wheels in motion again; to increase agricultural production. This was a grand task. This is also illustrated by the example of the city of Brno where almost half its enterprises were either badly damaged or even completely destroyed. From a total number of 28,000 houses only half remained undamaged. People of our country, by their devoted work, by their selfless work for the Republic, leaning on the Soviet Union and with its assistance, managed to overcome great obstacles and fought the victorious struggle with opponents and enemies of the new social system. Our revolution advanced forward. The CPCZ by its principled policy for the benefit of the working class and working people, gained the support of the majority of the nation and led the people toward the gradual transformation of the national, democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. In harmony with the previous experiences and with the unequivocal agreement of the people, it asserted a new foreign-political orientation toward the unseparable friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. When the reactionary forces in February 1948 attempted to decide the struggle to their advantage by the counterrevolutionary coup, they were, thanks to the firm stand of the Communist Party headed by the unforgettable Klement Gottwald and with the full support of the crushing majority of working people, defeated. A path toward the building of socialism opened before our nations.

In a historically short period, in all sections of the economy, socialist production relations won, and a new class and social structure in society was created. Resounding changes in individual branches of the national economy took place. Among the most precious results were the profound changes in the position of working man in society and in his life: exploitation was removed; the right to work was guaranteed for everybody; people became real masters in their country. Thousands of industrial enterprises have been constructed. We have a prospering socialist agriculture, education of the population has

increased. Science and culture has developed, health care has improved, and 3 million flats have been constructed--35,000 in city of Brno alone. The social and civic certainties are being strengthened constantly. Nobody who looks around him can deny that our entire country has been changed by the creative and selfless work of the people. A significant share in this belongs to the National Committee Organizations of the National Front, and above all the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Union of Youth, the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association, the Union of Women, and others who we have to thank for this activity and work.

In the 40 years in constructing our socialist country, we have built a mighty economy, implemented socialist industrialization, managed to overcome the backwardness of Slovakia, and carried out the collectivization of agriculture. The high efficiency of our present industry and agriculture cannot be compared with that of the prewar level. The city of Brno and the South Moravian Region with its developed industry and highly productive agriculture, and the important scientific-technical potential are contributing significantly to the achievement of these results.

Brno is an important center for education and culture. It has become an important European fair city. The South Moravian Region and Brno are important centers of engineering, and the manufacture of machine tools, chemical and power-generating equipment, tractors, aircraft, footwear, textiles, clothing, and others. In Brno alone industrial production increased, compared with 1970, by almost 80 percent. Not far from the city, in Dukovany, construction continues of the atomic power station which has already given the first current to the grid and before long it will supply heat to the city of Brno. There are prospering unified agricultural cooperatives and state farms in the region, there is the advanced food-processing industry there too. Gross agricultural production has increased in the South Moravian Region in the last 25 years by more than 2.3 times, while the size of the agricultural land was reduced by almost 8 percent and the number of people working permanently in agriculture is lower by some 2.4 times. Thanks to the devoted work of our people, the national income in the country has increased since 1948 by 6.5 times. This has enabled, in harmony with implementation of the main goal of the policy of our party, an increase of the material and cultural standard of working people. Personal consumption, if compared with 1948, is 3.4 times and social consumption even 3.5 times greater.

It was not easy to achieve these results. We had to overcome many objective difficulties. This demanded above all devoted work, revolutionary deeds, personal courage, and often even heroism from those who were implementing the hopes of the previous generations and were building the foundations of socialism in our country. Many of them are no longer among us; many of them are enjoying their well deserved retirement and many even today are taking an active part in building the advanced socialist society. Allow me, comrades, on this occasion today, to thank them and wish them many successes and good health.

The revolutionary path was not without mistakes and errors. Some shortcomings were used by right-wing opportunists and counterrevolutionary forces in 1968 and evoked a profound social crisis. With the internationalist aid of the

fraternal socialist countries we defended the socialist achievements of our people. The new leadership of the party, headed by Comrade Husak, with the support of the sound forces of the society, renewed the Marxist-Leninist character of the party, its leading role and the socialist principles of the management of the society, and safeguarded the process of consolidation. Our party at its 14th Congress was able to formulate a general line of building advanced socialism which was put in further concrete forms at the 15th and 16th Party Congresses. Its aim is to ensure a high standard of living and social certainties for the people on the basis of increased efficiency in social production, the intensification of all factors of economic growth by implementing science and technology in practice, improving the management of the national economy, deepening the socialist economic integration, and increasing the qualifications and initiative of the people. We have started fulfilling tasks which by their importance and complexity can only be compared to the industrialization and collectivization. And this places new great demands on the quality and efficient work of each of us. It is the youth above all who are called upon now for new revolutionary deeds in the sphere of science and technology. This demands new approaches in planning and management which will lead to the growth of social labor productivity, to a better utilization of production funds, to a better management of investment means, to a better utilization of energy, raw materials, and materials--the consumption of which in our country, if compared with that in the world, is still high. We must strive more resolutely to improve product quality; we all want a high technical standard so we satisfy better the needs of our citizens and foreign consumers.

In short, we must economize better everywhere and assert that each enterprise, team, and individual are paid according to their contribution to society, for the socialist principle of remuneration--to everybody according to his output and quality of work--to be applied consistently; for such forms as the team method of organization of work and remuneration to be used more.

We must ensure the improvement of organization, the consistent strengthening of discipline and order, and not allow anything which weakens our efforts such as: shortcomings in production, public life, in education, or people's behavior. Faster advancement requires the increased responsibility of everybody for a quality fulfillment of tasks, a better utilization and the further development of the people's initiative the improvement of their qualification and education.

I would like, comrades, in this connection, to appreciate the response with which the appeal of the Central Committee of the party, government, and the National Front on the liberation of our country by Soviet Army met from working people of the city of Brno who, just like working people of the entire country, by their pledges and by their fulfillment contributed significantly to fulfilling tasks of the past year of the 7th 5-year plan and are contributing to overcoming difficulties caused by this year's winter and are striving for a successful fulfillment of tasks this year and thus of the entire 5-year plan," and for the good prerequisites of preparation of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The successes which we have achieved are inseparably linked with our broad economic and scientific-technical cooperation with socialist countries and

above all with the Soviet Union which ensures for our economy, on advantageous conditions, virtually important sources of energy and raw materials, the latest technology, and enables to make use of the results of Soviet science and guarantees a stable long-term market for products of the processing industry, above all, of engineering. It is our duty to ensure prompt delivery, high quality, and high technical standards of our products. This, too, manifests our attitude toward our liberators. In developing our cooperation is also a guarantee for its further successful development. This is why we actively approach the work on the program of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union up to the year 2000, the deepening of the socialist economic integration on the basis of the results of the Moscow conference of CEMA member states at the top level which outlined the program directions toward a fuller utilization of advantages of socialism in the economy, as the basic sphere of the socialist development and the competition with capitalism. Today, more than ever before, the economy is the main front of the struggle of two different social systems and each success which we achieve in this struggle is our contribution to strengthening socialism and peace in the world.

Comrades, in order for us to be able to continue to develop all-round our country, and secure the happy and calm life of our people we need peace most of all. We want to live in friendship with all nations and develop mutually advantageous cooperation. The main guarantee of peace in the world is the Soviet Union, its military and economic strength, its political influence. It is above all thanks to the Soviet Union and its consistent peace policy that we have been living for 40 years in peace now. There are, however, forces in the world which did not learn from World War II. The most reactionary imperialist circles of the United States and some NATO countries are trying to stop the social progress, to achieve a decisive influence over the world development as a whole aiming to suppress the movement for social and national liberation and to liquidate the world socialist system. They are trying to achieve a change in the mutual power ratio and achieve military superiority. There are activating various anticommunist groups, including revanchists who still have not given up hopes for revising the postwar arrangement of the European borders.

They do not shrink from using any lie and demagogy to minimize the epoch-making significance of the victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, question the results of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences. They talk about peace while increasing their nuclear potential and preparing for war in space. In contrast to the Soviet Government they have refused to pledge themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and they have also not expressed themselves on the proposal put forward by the Warsaw Pact states to conclude a treaty with NATO on nonuse of military force. They have not responded positively to another USSR peace initiative, announced in connection with the talks between the United States and Soviet Union in Geneva as an expression of goodwill, by Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, recently. As it is known the Soviet Union has declared a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and has suspended the implementation of further countermeasures in Europe. The Soviet Union and socialist countries set against the policy of confrontation and war a policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.



Our people support with full resolve all these peace proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and socialist countries, for these proposals express our aspirations and our innermost interests. This is why we are doing out utmost to further strengthen the unity of the socialist countries, which with the Soviet Union at their vanguard represent the main force in the world struggle for peace, to increase both the economic and defense potential of our country as a firm link of the socialist community. On this very day, during these hours, the extension of the Warsaw Pact will be signed in Warsaw; a treaty which for the past 30 years has been fulfilling its role of defending socialism and peace in the world and there is no doubt that this will also be the case in the future.

Comrades, when we reflect on the past 40 years and on the prospects of our future development then the experiences gained confirm that the reason why we have achieved successes is because the CPCZ has been in the vanguard of the working people, which is applying in a creative way the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, making use of the rich experiences of the Leninist CPSU and other fraternal parties--a party the principle credo of whose activity is everything with the people and for the people; because our people accept the policy of the party as their own and put it in practice by their selfless and creative work; because they are able and were able to learn in building socialism on friendship and alliance and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community; because a world socialist system has come into being; because we have worked and lived in peace. These are principles that have an enduring validity and this is why we shall be guided by them thoroughly also in the future and shall not permit anyone to violate them.

Comrades in the efforts for the all-round development of socialist Czechoslovakia, in the everyday consistent implementation of the general line of constructing the advanced socialist society we can see the continuity of the progressive heritage of our national-liberation struggle and the further development of the heritage of the world struggle for life and freedom successfully concluded 40 years ago. From our meeting today we greet all those who by their deeds contributed to the defeat of fascism and are fighting today for peace and progress. We greet above all the heroic people of the Soviet Union and its armed forces. [Chanting: Long Live the Soviet Union] We wish them new great successes in work and life with the assurance that the Czechoslovak people and the CPCZ have been, are, and will forever remain its loyal friend and ally; that we shall continue to implement consistently the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance the 15th anniversary of which we shall mark in May. Glory to our liberator the glorious Soviet army! Long live the most loyal friend, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, its Leninist Communist Party and the Soviet people! Long live the people, great successes to the people of our friends, countries of the socialist community! Glory to the CPCZ the leading force and organizer of our socialist construction. [Chanting: Long live CPCZ]. Long live working people of Czechoslovakia! I wish new successes in the building work and happy life to all citizens of Brno and the South Moravian Region! Let our socialist homeland prosper further!

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

USSR-U.S. ARMY MEMORIAL PLANNED, U.S. ABSENT

AU291344 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Apr 85 p 2

["UNT"-signed report: "For a Memorial To Peace"]

[Text2 Vitejovice (our correspondent)--Festive unveiling of the foundation stone for the construction of a Peace Memorial that will commemorate the meeting of the Soviet and the American Armies in May 1945 took place in Vitejovice, [words indistinct], on Thursday [25 April].

In addition to inhabitants of adjacent villages and representatives of the district, the festive act was also attended by Major General Chelpanov, USSR military and air force attache in the CSSR, and Colonel Ladislav Kilian, acting deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the Czech Union of Antifascist Fighters. A representative of the U.S. Embassy--despite an invitation--did not come.

In his speech, J. A. Chelpanov said among other things that we are witnessing a festive act that will symbolize not only peace, but also the horrors of war. "Everybody knows what sacrifices the Soviet troops made but we do not forget that members of other European nations, as well as the troops of the United States, also had merit in the victory over Hitlerite fascism," he noted.

Currently, the meeting of the Soviet and the American Armies is commemorated by a memorial stone with an inscription that is not historically accurate and, from an artistic point of view, also not dignified enough. The proposed Peace Memorial, whose dominant feature will be a victory statue, is designed by national artist Jan Hana and architect Vratislav Ruzicka. The memorial will stand a few meters away from the original spot and express the ideas of peace and peaceful coexistence among nations. These ideas, together with data pertaining to the meeting of the Soviet and the American Armies on this spot, will also be contained in the inscription on the memorial, which should be unveiled in 2 years.

CSO: 2400/377



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE REPORTS CZECH TRADE UNION-AUCCTU COMMUNIQUE

LD302114 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 30 Apr 85

[Text] A communique was issued today on the official, friendly visit to the USSR of a Central Council of Trade Unions delegation led by Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions. The communique says that in talks with a delegation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions led by Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and AUCCTU chairman, the two sides briefed each other about the activity and topical tasks of the trade unions of their countries in the current stage of the construction of socialism, and about ways of developing the working people's initiative in honor of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the 17th Congress of the CPCZ. They noted with satisfaction the fruitful development and deepening of friendship and all-round cooperation between Soviet and Czechoslovak working people and trade unions on the platform of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, fully in line with the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between Czechoslovakia and the USSR, signed in May 1970, and with the conclusions of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the heads of party and government delegations of the Warsaw Pact member-states in Moscow in 1985.

The communique further says that both delegations assessed ways of further raising the effectiveness of other trade union contacts, raising the contribution of trade unions to solving socioeconomic tasks, and exchanged views on the topical questions of the international workers' and trade union movement. They noted that a contribution to the close cooperation of trade unions of both countries was made by such forms of cooperation as exchanges of delegations and brigades from enterprises with similar production, organizing schools of progressive experiences, mutual friendship visits and meetings and consultations of trade union bodies and officials.

The delegations of the Czechoslovak and Soviet trade unions expressed serious concern at the attempts of the imperialist circles of the United States and NATO to achieve a unilateral advantage through a feverish arms buildup, and unanimously supported the decisions adopted at the meeting of the highest party and state representatives of the Warsaw Pact member-states, in April 1985, aiming at ensuring reliable security of the fraternal socialist countries

and a peaceful future for the whole world. The two sides also exchanged information on preparations of their trade union organizations for the 11th World Trade Union Congress. The delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions invited an official delegation of the AUCCTU, led by its Chairman Stepan Shalayev, for a visit to Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

READER UNDERSCORES IMPORTANCE OF PARAMILITARY EDUCATION

AU250822 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Apr 85 p 5

[Letter by reader Mikulas Gojda from Krompachy: "Let Us Not Underrate Paramilitary Upbringing"]

[Text] The current international situation commands us to be constantly prepared to defend the socialist fatherland. The paramilitary upbringing of our citizens, and particularly of our youth, is closely linked to rearing people to socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Because, in fact, paramilitary upbringing must not be understood merely as training or theoretical instruction in paramilitarism. In the first place, it means a sincere and ardent relationship with one's community, district, and fatherland--a sincere attitude to work and to building the fatherland. Only we can defend his fatherland who builds it, who knows the values concealed in the people's creativity, in the creativity of the society. He who does not learn, does not build; he who does not strive to build, is not motivated, to protect anything. That is why the feeling of paramilitarism is born not only in the schools and in the attitude toward them, but already at an early age in love for parents, for one's homeland, for one's kindergarten and one's school.

We are fighting for peace. This is the foundation of our efforts, the first prerequisite of peaceful life and work. We want to live without wars, we do not need them. We are convinced that peace is socialism and socialism peace. We are all the more hurt when we encounter stances of pacifism and disinterest in these [word indistinct] issues even among a part of our school youth. We are living in peace, and this blunts the edge of vigilance. But the cause of peace is not only the concern of the USSR, it is the concern of all countries of socialism, of all people of good will throughout the world. And it is in this spirit that we must exert influence on the pupils' minds. It is necessary to make use of their natural inclination to be in motion--but not in the sense that they should look forward to paramilitary days because they will be free from math or physics. Paramilitary events have a much deeper significance than merely that of alarm training, target shooting, or grenade throwing. They should be permeated by the spirit of firm discipline and awareness, the spirit of the deepest possible grasp of the purpose of paramilitary education. Paramilitary training rears man to be devoted to the cause of socialism and communism. Let us not narrow it down to a mere education in the martial arts, even though this part of it must not be underrated either. On the contrary, it must adopt a new and deeper significance and purpose in the interests of the defense of peace and its maintenance, in the interests of socialism and the life of all mankind.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LT GEN KLICHA ADDRESSES ARMY CONFERENCE

LD231243 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 23 Apr 85

[Text] An army-wide conference on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Warsaw Pact organization was held in Prague today. It was attended by Vasil Bejda and Vladimir Blechta, department heads of the CPCZ Central Committee, Colonel General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defence, and other guests.

Lieutenant General Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Czechoslovak People's Army, recalled in the opening report the necessity of creating a military-political alliance of the socialist countries following the establishment of the aggressive North Atlantic Pact, and after the Federal Republic of Germany became a member in May 1955. He pointed out the fundamental importance of military-political cooperation among the fraternal communist and workers' parties, and declared that the guarantee of the security, our state sovereignty and independence, the source of the further improvement of advanced socialist society, lies in the firm alliance of the socialist states.

Lt Gen Jaroslav Klicha went on to talk about the dangerous militaristic concepts and plans of world imperialism. At the close of his report he centered his attention on the tasks facing the Czechoslovak People's Army in securing the collective defence and sovereignty of the socialist countries.

CSO: 2400/377

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COMPLAINTS OF DISABLED IN SLOVAKIA

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Jana Drobova: "Attention to Orthopedic Prosthetics Care"]

[Text] Our society is devoting systematic attention to upgrading the care of disabled persons. At the congress of the SSR Union of Disabled Persons, this was reflected not only in the annual report, but in the delegates' contributions to the debate and the speeches by representatives of the SSR Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and the SSR Ministry of Health as well. At a recent session of the Slovak National Council's Committee on Social Affairs and Health, the deputies again analyzed in detail the fulfillment of these tasks.

Emphasis during the elapsed period was on the prevention of disability. Within the Ministry of Health, attention was devoted to establishing departments of medical genetics at the type II hospitals with polyclinics in each kraj, and at selected type III hospitals with polyclinics. With the establishment of these departments, the role of prevention has increased in controlling pathologic conditions that are due to genetic factors, and it is now possible to offer also genetic counseling. Our country has been devoting close attention for many years to the prevention of diseases also through statewide health programs, such as the cardiovascular program and the oncological program. Attention is being devoted to dispensary care, to uncovering health hazards, and to the expansion of therapy and prevention as well.

The number of hazardous workplaces, and the number of persons working in them are being reduced gradually. (Although the hazard posed by noise, for example, has abated, it still accounts for 47 percent of all health hazards, while dust accounts for 18 percent.) In Slovakia there now are about 15,500 workplaces that are hazardous.

The work collectives themselves are devoting more and more attention to industrial safety and the use of protective devices. Voluntary organizations are aiming to prevent injuries and accidents that are not work-related: for example, by teaching children the traffic regulations, and how to avoid sports injuries.

Despite the marked changes in providing care for disabled persons, we cannot be satisfied with the fulfillment of all the tasks in this area. For example, orthopedic prosthetic compensatory and rehabilitation aids are still the



targets of criticism by disabled citizens. Although the situation has improved to some extent, especially in terms of lead time, the quality of some of the products is deplorable. The most complaints are about the quality of the wheelchairs made in Czechoslovakia; also their servicing is slow. No fewer are the problems in conjunction with hearing aids for the hard of hearing, particularly with their modernization that should keep abreast of the world trends. Eyeglass lenses (of high diopter strength) for the visually handicapped are shortage items that must be imported, and the waiting time for them is from 6 months to 1 year.

A detailed analysis of the care that disabled citizens are receiving in this area uncovered a series of shortcomings. In November of last year, therefore, the federal government approved a series of measures to upgrade orthopedic prosthetics care and production. The measures accurately define specific tasks and set time limits for their fulfillment. One such task is the final equipment and expansion of the department of orthopedic prosthetics at the KUNZ [Kraj Institute of Public Health] in Bratislava. (There has been some improvement following the remodeling of the assigned premises.)

Another task that must be implemented far more effectively in practice (because it has been laid down in documents long ago) is to provide access ramps for the physically handicapped. In housing construction it is high time to remember the disabled citizens and to observe the principle that four out of every 1000 new housing units built must have access ramps. The actual fulfillment of this task is unsatisfactory. By the end of the current five-year period we can realistically expect only 83 such housing units, whereas 530 have been planned.

The national committees are not making full use of the opportunity to remodel and modernize the housing units of citizens with serious skeletal and motoric disorders and of the blind. The national committees may contribute up to 70 percent of the actual costs of remodeling and modernization of such housing units (but not more than 30,000 korunas).

The testimonial that the working and social complex for the blind in Bahon gives the construction workers and other suppliers is not very flattering. The complex is scheduled for completion and commissioning next year, but so far the planning and design problem has not even been approved for the construction of the housing units in which the future workers of this complex are to live.

The lag in the construction of facilities for disabled citizens is no secret. Much has been said about it also in the Slovak National Council's Committee on Social Affairs and Health. The committee has not only talked, but has pressed purposefully for a solution. Lately the deputies have directed their attention to the construction of the rehabilitation center in Kovacova, which is behind schedule. The center should have been ready in 1984, but at the present rate of construction it will be able to serve its purpose only from 1986 on.

The problems that we have outlined here do not detract from the efforts devoted each year to caring for the disabled. They are intended to mobilize everyone concerned for the consistent fulfillment of all the tasks, particularly of the set of measures that the federal government adopted last year.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRATISLAVA IN STATISTICS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Apr 85 p 3

[Text] In 1945, Bratislava's population was estimated at 143,227. By 31 December of last year, it reached 409,100. Admittedly this figure includes the 14 communities that have been annexed to the Slovak capital in the meantime. During the same period, Bratislava's area has increased more than fivefold, from 68.6 to 367.6 square kilometers.

More than 123,000 housing units have been built since 1946. Extensive construction began especially after 1950, when the first housing projects were started. Since then there have arisen 500-unit settlements such as Krasnany, Ruzinov, Karlova Ves, Dubravka, Lamac, Petrzalka, and many others.

After the liberation, Bratislava had day nurseries for 90 infants, kindergartens for 1,136 preschoolers, and the enrollment in grade school was 15,172. This school year there are 132 day nurseries serving 7,600 infants, more than 20,000 preschoolers attend kindergarten, and the enrollment in grade school is 52,840. The city now has 58 secondary schools, and five higher educational institutions.

Before the 1940's, the single theater presented 315 performances a year. Last year the four Bratislava theaters presented 1677 performances on eight permanent stages, for an audience of 500,000. Fifteen times more readers visit the libraries than before 1945, and the number of volumes in the libraries has increased 22-fold.

In 1945, Bratislava residents had 17 post offices to serve them. Now there are 46. The number of telephone subscribers has increased from 55,000 to 205,000, including 75,426 residential subscribers.

The agricultural enterprises on the city's territory are keeping 10,547 head of cattle and 1,140 hogs. Statisticians reported 11,454 hectares of farmland and 6,808 hectares of arable land in the city in 1949. Current data show 17,582 hectares of farmland and 12,943 hectares of arable land on the territory of the SSR capital.

1014  
CSO: 2400/375

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## YOUTH SAID TO HAVE ACCEPTED SOCIALISM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Mar 85 p 4

[Excerpts] There is nothing surprising about the fact that the main thrust of the attacks from anticommunist centers is aimed at influencing the consciousness and actions of the young generation. Bourgeois propaganda proceeds from the premise that our youth does not have direct experience of capitalist life. This propaganda makes use of the natural factors of youthful opposition to older generations. This opposition is both an uncontrolled reaction to real or supposed manifestations of conservatism on the part of the old, and is also a protest against the criticism (justified and unjustified), which older people sometimes direct at young people. The propaganda plays upon the emotional foundation of youth with its radicalism, which is based on emotions rather than upon reason.

Anticommunists act upon youth according to the thesis of J. Ellul, who recommends influencing people "by the ploughman's method:" first prepare the soil (emotion) and then sow the seed (ideas), or according to the anticommunist devices of A. Koestler that it is first necessary to attain a cooling of the relationship toward the communist country, after which a break with communism follows upon the acceptance of a new world view. A complex of real or exaggerated contradictions between words and actions is intended to depict the reality of socialism for the youth and to discredit the ideas of Marx and Lenin. In this attempt to denigrate communism the older generations are blamed for reputed mistakes. However, there are also some factors aimed directly at Czech youth, namely a course of action by means of which the notion is imposed that within socialist society the youth represents "Western" democracy and culture. Connected with this also is the claim that Czech culture through its tradition belongs to the West.

Research confirms that the merits of socialism have a firm hold upon the consciousness of a very large part of Czechoslovakian youth, and this is manifested in significant trends. The vast majority of young people accept (even if sometimes in their own way) the basic values of socialism, identify themselves with the foremost tasks of the working class and with the social ownership of the means of production. The same holds in the relationship of young people to the adherence of the CSSR to the world socialist system and to the defense of socialist power: in one of the surveys that was carried out it was established that 95 percent of the

young people consider the Warsaw Pact to be "an important instrument in the international defense of socialism" and 91 percent called it "important for the preservation of peace."

An analysis of much Czechoslovak research attests to the validity of the thought that it is precisely this world view that is turning communists and workers into conscious political fighters, capable of independently evaluating social phenomena, and of seeing the connection between current tasks and our final goals, and of conducting well reasoned polemics with any ideological foe whatsoever.

Almost half of those questioned claim to have a Marxist-Leninist world view, and the difference between a genuine and a purported Marxist-Leninist world view stance amounts to no more than 2 percent. A connection between the level of education and an inclination toward a scientific outlook on life is evident. It is, however, necessary to distinguish whether it is a question of an active identification with Marxism-Leninism or merely a learned precept. Namely the world view is not only a matter of knowledge, but also of an attitude toward life; for this reason it is necessary to take into account too the manner in which its proponents conduct themselves.

From the total nexus of these problems we will select just two. The first touches upon the relationship between a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and its application to practical life, and the second is the proportion of non-Marxist and explicitly anti-Marxist world view factors in the consciousness of our young people.

The level of education in general and of Marxist-Leninist consciousness in particular has significance for the majority of young people. It helps them get their bearings in their public, working and to a certain degree their personal life. However it is impossible to ignore some of the contradictions, which anticommunist propaganda tries to make use of in order to gain access. Within the years 1974-1983 the importance assigned to a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism for one's life was marked in surveys by a division into the categories of "very important," "important," "probably not important," "useless" and "don't know." A positive sign is the fact that within those years the number of young people who considered this knowledge "very important" increased, while on the contrary the number who considered it probably unimportant or useless decreased.

Even if there may be a lack of precision in the methodology of these inquiries and their results, all the same this type of research reveals three actual tasks for educational instruction and practical political activity. To start with the very level and scope of instruction in Marxism-Leninism and the method of its adoption in the schools through political education courses in all grades must be considered. Besides the considerable success stories we quite often find formalism, lack of experience and elements of detachment from life. Secondly there are the countersocialist phenomena in life itself and the explicit discrepancies between words and deeds, which dwell in the consciousness of young



people. Incorrect (but explicable) thoughts that they have acquired in the Marxist-Leninist classes concerning the small amount of usefulness of this knowledge are genuinely compatible with the abuses mentioned above. The claim of a number of young people that a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism is "not useful" or even "worthless" rests upon a lack of comprehension of the relationship between life goals and the means to attain them. A grasp of the chronology for the fulfillment of the planned tasks of the individual stages of communist socioeconomic development demands a deeper understanding of the formula for mediation, i.e. of the dialectical unity of means and goals in the building of a socialist society.

Hostile propaganda attempts to arouse especially the view that the reality of socialism serves to discredit its ideals, and that between the ideals and the reality of socialism there is an impassable abyss. A member of the presidium and the secretary of the Central Committee of the KSC, J. Fojtik, reminded us of this problem when setting forth the tasks of propaganda, which require a showing of the greatness of the communist ideal and an effort to instill a burning desire for it in the succeeding generation. He made the following statement: "Above all it is necessary to recognize that between the agenda, even if it is realistic in itself, and the realities of life there always remains some discrepancy, which our adversaries will pursue unrelentingly. As has been shown they continue stubbornly and inventively to propound their arguments both against our ideology and against the practical results of our politics. It is precisely this activity of theirs that sometimes creates, if it comes to direct ideological confrontation, pressure to highlight manifestations of the departure of practice from theory, which bear witness to the weaknesses of both. From this standpoint bourgeois propaganda centers have worked out a whole gamut of psychological inducements against us. And it is necessary to admit that in many cases they have successfully used them in order to put us on the defensive in regard to this or that problem (in particular the problem of discrediting our system and its democratic nature). It is more than naive to attempt to get out of this situation by means of "an improvement" of practice at any price, or by means of "modifications" of theory in order to meet our critics halfway."

Non-Marxist and straightforwardly anti-Marxist ideological groups inveigh against the prevailing Marxist-Leninist world view of our youth, and in part they have infiltrated into the consciousness of our possessors of a scientific world view. The struggle for the new man takes place not only between people, but also inside each person. Within traditional bourgeois ideology in Czechoslovakia belongs nationalism, social democracy, Masarykism and in some regions, especially in Slovakia, political clericalism too. They appear in the guise of various costumes, the social denominator of which is today as yesterday anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. In order to successfully combat these influences, it is not sufficient to be right, we have to lend our correct outlook the means to respond to the mentality of the separate strata of society and link it to their real interests and needs. It concerns not only an improvement of



ideological activity, but also a whole nexus of additional factors, besides elements of the superstructure and of the economic foundation, and in addition some thought about peoples' political activity. Beyond the growing task of consciousness what also holds is that knowledge determines existence.

For this reason to strengthen the prestige of work in the consciousness of young people requires not only more effective economic propaganda, but also further steps toward a real collectivization of work, a change in the character of work and a growth of productivity based on the useful application of science and technology, plus compensation according to achievement. And of course the betterment of a socialist democracy in the spirit of democratic centralism, the democratic aspect of which will grow along with scientific and technology assumes no less than greater claims to working discipline and self discipline.

In the third part of consciousness--needs--activities guide in no mere single direction, reciprocal activities move in all directions. This most of all creates the individual's attitude toward life. J. A. Komensky emphasized that in "manufacturing we are manufactured," that is to say a man through his work reorganizes nature, society and human relations, and also shapes himself. It is claimed--and this holds true too evidently and perhaps especially conspicuously among the youth--, that is not only a knowledge of science is needed for the pursuit of certain activities, but at the same time certain activities (work, study, politics, sports, the arts and so on) elicit a need for higher levels of knowledge.

In all these contexts it is necessary to stimulate as effectively as possible, in the spirit of the pertinent documents of the Central Committee of the KSC, the activities of youth, explicitly their own active participation in the controlling of social processes and in the realization of commonly accepted resolutions.

12313

CSO: 2400/313

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NECESSITY OF PROPER HEALTH CARE STRESSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Mar 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Everybody Must Pay More Attention to His Health"]

[Excerpt] Proof on how little thought we give to our own contribution to health care can be exemplified by one survey in which a selected number of citizens were questioned as how they visualized health protection. The absolute majority answered that good health depended upon good health care. Answers declaring that everybody must first do something himself for his health. And even those who had listed good health care in the first place smiled a little afterwards and agreed that the order should have been reversed. Although the research was made at random, the result would have been the same even in another place. Such a view stems from our consciousness with out forethought. It is somewhere in us and it is an incorrect view.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of liberation of our republic we can look back with pride on the achievements in health care. While there were 1,236 inhabitants per physician in 1937, there are 281 now. The number of beds in all health establishments increased from 110,000 in 1946 to 193,000 at the present time. Of the 1,000 children born in 1945, 135 died within one year; the ratio was below 16 per million in 1983. At the beginning of the 1960's we became first in the world to eliminate infectious poliomyelitis whooping cough, diphtheria and scarlet fever almost disappeared, the number of persons sick with tuberculosis was substantially reduced, and elimination of measles was successful. We have achieved successes in pediatric, cardiology, pediatric oncology and the high standard of Czechoslovak health care is born out by the transplantations of kidneys, combined transplantations of kidneys and pancreas, transplantation of liver and heart.

Yet we know that the so-called civilization diseases are the cause of disability of young people in the productive age and that cardiovascular diseases occupy the first place among the causes of death. This fact has not only been stated, but motivated the approval and announcement of state-wide medical care programs which focus precisely on the treatment and prevention of civilization diseases. However, it has been becoming increasingly clear that significant successes cannot be achieved without an

adequate support of every single individual, until everybody is willing to contribute to his own health. This means that for example the food industry, investors in planning new housing projects and essentially all concerned with the protection of living environment must bear in mind the health of inhabitants.

For better illustration one example can be cited, obesity is a risk factor in cardiovascular diseases. It affects to a certain extent diabetes, gout, gallbladder and gall duct diseases, overloads the joints and partly accounts for the degenerative joint diseases. It has been pointed out that every second adult woman and every third adult man are obese. If we succeeded to reduce the excessive food consumption which exists in our country, the health condition of the population would improve. What however is the reality? While the sugar consumption per capita in our country was a little over 23 kilograms in 1936, it amounted to almost 38 kilograms in 1983. This is not new information, but it seems that the more we talk about it, the less this information is heard by those who should hear it. In our words, not every one of us, but also the responsible workers in the food industry should hear it. Considerable possibilities for the reduction of sugar consumption are in the soft beverages which are too sweet. 'An adult person could do without them, but what should the children drink? And from the earliest childhood the conditions are thus created for an excessive weight. Naturally, the high sugar consumption is due not only to soft beverages, but generally to the consumption of foods with a high sugar or flour content.

Diabetes comes to the foreground. On the average it affects 6-7 percent of middle-age population and continues to spread. Diabetes is a major risk factor in cardiovascular diseases and many other illnesses. The disability of diabetics is almost three times higher than in general population, and on the average as many as 20 percent of hospital beds are occupied by the diabetics. This is an important and warning fact. There is a diabetologic program in preparation in which the health care agencies will concentrate on the prevention and treatment of this disease. But even in this instance the result achieved will not be -- without the contribution of individuals -- commensurate with the efforts and funds expended. Every treatment is only another proof of a sick organism, and so far as the diabetics are concerned the correct regimen is very important.

We cannot talk, however, about undisciplined individuals alone. Not all of us mean by the correct regimen one and the same thing. In fact this is not and cannot be so. It depends upon the working conditions: a miner will live in a different way from somebody who has a sedentary occupation and sits all day. The health care workers must do more for an active attitude of individuals toward their own health. This is not just a matter of publishing pamphlets and organizing lectures although this is also important, but of everyday work in the physicians' office. Just consider how many people visit them everyday! It is of course faster and easier to prescribe a large number of pills than to win over or "force" the patient visiting the doctor's office to change his regimen. It must be justly admitted that people prefer to leave the doctor's office with a prescription rather than with a recommendation to stop smoking, to reduce, to exercise more in other

words to live in a different way than they did so far. But this is only an excuse. The cure will definitely be more difficult, will not meet with understanding immediately, but it is the only way which can reduce the number of so-called civilization diseases. For health care there will be enough diseases left which cannot be affected in any way by the individual alone. There will be thus more time and funds available to take care of them.

10501

CSO: 5400/3003

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EDITORIAL PAYS TRIBUTE TO STALIN'S ROLE IN WW II

AU291306 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 April 1985 on page 1 carries a 1,300-word editorial entitled "Decisive Force of the Anti-fascist Coalition." The editorial deals with the "crucial" role of the Soviet Army in the defeat of fascism in World War II. The author argues that--in terms of the duration and intensity of fighting, the numbers of troops involved, and the impact on the final outcome of the war--the Soviet-German front had been the decisive one in World War II.

While emphasizing the contribution of the Soviet Union to the defeat of Germany, the editorial also pays tribute to the role of the Soviet Communist Party "under the leadership of Y. V. Stalin." It says: "The party of Lenin as the fighting vanguard of the workers class and all Soviet people was the leading force of the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War.

Aware of its historic responsibility for the fate of the people and the state, and for the fate of socialism, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), led by Y. V. Stalin, demonstrated wisdom and prudence in overcoming the gigantic difficulties caused by the war, mobilized all material and spiritual resources of the society, and guided and organized the Soviet people for the defeat of the enemy and the attainment of all-out victory. The cohesion of all people under the leadership of the communist party was one of the main sources of the invincibility of the Soviet Union and the most important prerequisite for its decisive share in the defeat of fascism."

CSO: 2400/377



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CULTURAL COOPERATION WITH LIBYA--A practical program of cultural and educational cooperation between the CSSR and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah for the 1985-87 period has been signed in Prague. The document creates favorable prerequisites for the further development of Czechoslovak-Libyan relations in the sphere of culture, arts, science, education, and information. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Apr 85 p 2 AU]

COMMUNICATIONS COOPERATION WITH LIBYA--CSSR Minister of Communications Vlastimil Chalupa received in Prague on 22 April Mubarak Samich [name spelling as published], secretary of the Libyan General People's Committee for Communications and Maritime Transport, who is currently paying a visit to the CSSR. The two discussed "the further expansion of cooperation." The same day, Samich was received by Pavol Bahyl, CSSR minister of general engineering. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Apr 85 p 2 AU]

CULTURAL COOPERATION WITH MOROCCO--A program of cultural and scientific cooperation between the governments of the CSSR and Morocco for the 1985-87 period was signed in Rabat on Monday [22 April]. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Apr 85 p 7 AU]

VISITING FINNISH MINISTER--(CTK)--Matti Uhde, Finland's minister of environment, who is currently visiting the CSSR, was received on 23 April in Prague by Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for research, development, and investment promotion; they exchanged experiences on the activities of their countries' government bodies and scientific institutions in the sphere of living environments in the presence of Antti Karppinen, Finland's ambassador to the CSSR. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Apr 85 p 2 AU]

INDUSTRY'S GAS CONSUMPTION--Currently the enterprises falling under the Slovak Ministry of Industry are consuming about 35 percent of all fuels falling under limitation regulations; and up to 53 percent of electric power consumed by the organizations managed by the Slovak Government. This winter the sphere of the Ministry of Industry received 26 million cubic meters less natural gas than it was counting on; this cut amounted to 11 percent of the expected amount, and it particularly affected the Duslo Sala enterprise and its ammonia production. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Apr 85 p 5 AU]

CZECH FIELD WORK--By 22 April in the Czech Socialist Republic, sowing of spring grain crops was completed on 96.7 percent of the planned area, sowing of pulses on 97.5 percent; sowing of sugar beets on 97 percent; sowing of potatoes on 36.9 percent; and sowing of silage corn on 7.4 percent. [Summary] [Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Apr 85 p 1 AU]

YOUNG DRUG ADDICTS--Four inmates of the Youth Correctional Institute in Prague's Ninth Precinct, all between 17 and 18 years of age, have been injecting their veins with drugs they made out of normally available medicines with syringes they salvaged from garbage cans in the precinct. The police are investigating. [Summary] [Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 23 Apr 85 p 3 AU]

BRATISLAVA CADRE CHANGES--The CPSL district committee in Bratislava's second district has elected Jan Suchan member of its Presidium and leading secretary. Suchan, who was born in 1942, replaces Stefan Rybar, who has been elected member of the Secretariat and secretary of the Bratislava CPSL City Committee. [Summary] [Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 22 Apr 85 p 1 AU]

CSO: 2400/377

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CLARITY, CONCISENESS DEMANDED IN IDEOLOGICAL WORKS

Leipzig BOERSENBLATT FUER DEN DEUTSCHEN BUCHHANDEL in German, Vol 152 No 10,  
5 Mar 85 pp 178-180

[Article by Prof Dr Herbert Meissner, deputy general secretary of the GDR  
Academy of Sciences: "Information Gains Reduced To Their Core"]

[Text] It certainly would be simple for me to offer some thoughts on the kinds of demands that we, the authors and editors in the area of the social sciences, should make on the publishing house in the spirit of a more efficient handling of future responsibilities. It would be easy to formulate, and it would not only be easy, it would be cheap; as far as I am concerned, too cheap.

It is more difficult to formulate the demands which we must make on ourselves. And even more difficult to realize them. I would like to refer to a few remarks made by the head lector of the "Academie Verlag," Dr Kurt Zeisler, which appear to us very relevant especially for the future of literature in the social sciences. They relate to the fact that, as we all know, we must raise the level of our research and thus also of our publications

A very essential factor in this is that we must formulate the gains in scientific information so precisely, so directly and in such a publishable way that the core of a work, its most essential aspects, are obvious without being overly redundant.

We still have too many studies with a long introductory chapter that first confirms the fact that the author has read the classics. Often too much space is devoted to what other authors have thought about the problem in question. Such information should of course not be totally lacking, but it should not be out of all proportion. Otherwise, one runs the risk of losing the pleasure of reading even before one has reached the actual core of new ideas, the valuable part of a publication. I believe that we have to formulate our ideas in a more succinct manner.

Less is Often More

There are still monographs, and this is especially true of monographs, that encompass 300 or 400 pages. If only what is really new and essential in

such a study were to be published, i.e., the heart of the matter, then this could probably be done in 50 or 60 pages. Add a brief introduction and a corresponding conclusion, and we would have a book of some 120 pages.

Such books are bought and read, but books of 300 or 400 pages are normally not bought, and if they are bought, they are not read. This is of no use to us, because we want to reach the reader, we want to be effective both in a scientifically political and ideological sense.

Thus our demand: briefer, clearer, more precise! I believe that less is often more. This is true with reference to monographs, but also in other ways as well. We still feel the need, a psychologically understandable need, especially on the part of younger scientists, to regard the papers that they have written for the A or B level of doctoral studies, in keeping with old tradition, as book manuscripts for the publishing house.

We have meanwhile come to the conclusion that this can no longer be regarded as an automatic process. In the case of A dissertations, we have succeeded in accommodating their essential content in two or three journal articles. And this is sufficient.

B dissertations, which are intended to present a larger problem complex with significant information gains on a higher level, sometimes present a slightly different case.

But here, too, we believe that less is more and that the publication [of B dissertations] as books should by no means be thought of as automatic.

We, too, oppose the attitude that: "If you've defended your dissertation, submit it to a publisher as a manuscript. Sooner or later it will be published." But we are certainly all clear on the fact that it is not exactly easy to oppose such an attitude. The interests of the authors, and even vanity, play a role here. This annual market of vanity has not yet fully disappeared from our society, let's not try to fool ourselves.

#### Take Advantage of the Richness of the Language

I would like to add another point. I am not aware what experience the publishing house has had in this regard.

As the director of research collectives, as representative of younger scientists, and as publisher, I have observed that some of our scientists, especially the younger ones, often have great difficulties with the German language. I maintain that many of our younger scientists lack complete mastery of our language. In the institute I am known for giving a half-hour German lesson when discussing the manuscripts of some of our colleagues, before I come to the actual focus of the study. Sometimes the punctuation is wrong, sometimes the cases or verb tenses. I do not wish to delve further into this, but it is a fact that we have a problem here.

Even our experienced researchers do not always utilize the entire richness of our language, the possibility of evoking in the reader the correct associations by virtue of the appropriate choice of words. The mastery and the use of our language is by no means as well developed among many of our social scientists--and I am restricting my remarks to these--as would be necessary to give our scientific publications also in terms of their linguistic quality the effectiveness, the persuasiveness, that we need. However, we attribute, and will continue to attribute, very great importance to this.

#### Publications Able To Compete on the World Market

One last word on a subject that is receiving much attention at the present time. It concerns the export of literature. In this question there are several specific problems faced by the literature of the social sciences in contrast to that of the natural sciences.

Recently, when we have discussed at our research institutes the question of the export of literature, we sometimes met with the objection that it is not so easy to sell marxist literature in non-socialist markets, since we are admittedly writing for the ideological-political education of our readers.

There is naturally much that is correct in this point of view, and specific problems of this kind are by no means to be minimized or ignored.

Nonetheless, we have oriented ourselves in such a way that we are not right now concerned with what is causing us difficulties, what is hampering us, and what problems there are in the creation of exportable publications, i.e., publications that can compete on the world market. Rather, we must first exhaust all possibilities that we have, in order to make some progress in this area.

Here there are reserves, here there are possibilities, and we have to talk about these. Sometimes it is a case of basic principles. I would like to point out three of these.

First: when we are abroad (I am speaking of capitalist foreign countries) we are confronted at universities and other scientific facilities, as well as in many libraries, with the fact that our social scientific literature is available there, that it is used and discussed. There are also sufficient examples for the fact that our literature can have an effect, that it can be sold, that it plays a role.

Second: we certainly cannot, and this is also being discussed by us, represent, on the one hand, the view, and this view is justified, that in the last fifteen to twenty years, interest in marxism-leninism has grown considerably in the capitalistic countries, that marxism-leninism has an increasing influence on the intellectual life of these countries, and continue to claim, on the other hand, that we are unable to sell our literature there, that there are too many insurmountable obstacles.



## Ideologically on the Offensive

Something is not right here. If the first is true, then the second cannot be accepted. Then ways must be found to shape the literature in question in such a way, imparting to it such quality, that it does justice to the growing interest in the formulation of marxist questions and answers.

Third: We speak, and here every social scientist will immediately agree with me, of the ideological offensive. We speak of our having it. I would much rather speak of our using it. Because an offensive means, if I may put it in military terms, challenging and beating the foe on his own territory.

To be ideologically on the offensive therefore means the following: we should make our ideology effective where the opposite ideology has a direct effect, i.e., on its own territory.

## Agreement Between Reader-Effectiveness and Economic Task

I also believe that the task of the ideological offensive, which is subscribed to by every social scientist, should be taken into consideration in a detailed and concrete fashion in the preparation of literature destined for export.

If we act in accordance with these three principles, taking into consideration the differences among the social sciences, then, I believe we will be able first, to further develop and improve the basic quality of our scientific publications, and second, to improve their effectiveness in our own country, which should not be underestimated. And third, we will also often be able to increase their effectiveness as a component of our ideological offensive within the framework of the systemic debate of our time, thus also fulfilling those tasks which are linked to this economically.

12792

CSO: 2300/351

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG PAPER: RIAS LISTENERS' LETTERS REFLECT YOUTH FEELINGS

DW291149 [Editorial Report] Frankfurt-Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German on 29 March 1985 carries on pages 9 and 10 an approximately 2,000-word roundup of samples of listeners letters received by the youth broadcasters of RIAS in West Berlin, declaring that these letters--"as many as 33,000 since 1968" when the youth broadcast "Meeting Point" was first put on the air--convey a good picture of the sentiments and troubles of the youth in the GDR. According to the paper, the young people who often sign their letters with fake names because they fear that the letters will end up "with the listen-see-arrest company"--the mock designation for the Ministry of State Security--are most depressed by "the lack of freedom of travel, the restriction and boredom of their own country."

A listener from Schwerin, the paper goes on to report, expressed his dissatisfaction with the GDR regime's militarization of education and said in his letter: "Well, we are having vacations now. All school students of the 10th grade must return to school during the vacation for 3 days to attend the 'days of the defense-ready youth.' What is done there first of all is theoretical instruction, handling the gas mask, overcoming obstacles, and marching. There is a maneuver on one day." But also the small pupils must participate in military exercises, the letter goes on, adding that "Then they shoot at toy balloons or targets," with the assistance of soldiers. The writer then says: "Something strange happened during the defense instruction the other day: The question was: 'What is the purpose of weapons?' The answer: 'In our country they protect us and safeguard peace, under capitalism their purpose is murder.'" Whence does this difference come? Something like this really irks me, but most of the others have learned to keep their mouth shut."

A letter from Dessau laments the "continuous slogans about the unity of the youth and the state" and says that the continuous reports "on successes and economic growth are nauseating most people here because they are constantly confronted with reality: empty stores, corruption, black marketeering, political reprisals, and the pressure exerted by the state for leading 'its youth' on its course." Another letter, coming from a listener in Dresden, also complains about conditions in the GDR, but rather sarcastically. According to the paper the writer describes conditions thusly: "There are two sides to every coin. Everybody has a job (except those looking for one). Everybody has a room or an apartment (of sorts, somehow, and somewhere). You can buy everything (with the right currency). Everybody makes a little money

(for which he gets little). You can get much or everything (with the proper connections). Everybody is happy and satisfied here (98 percent yes votes at the polls). You can travel wherever you wish (provided you have the money and the corresponding personal file)." He adds that "China built a wall so that nobody would come in--and what about us?"

The paper notes that the youth broadcast editors of RIAS also receive letters from soldiers of the National People's Army which, like most of the letters, request a special record to be played. But a "frequent subject" of letters also is the introduction of a civilian substitute for military service which the state refuses.

According to the paper a listener from Kleinmachnow had this to say: "I heard the report on construction soldiers in the GDR in the youth program Monday, and I also believe that a social service ought to be introduced in our country. The service as a construction soldier hardly differs from the normal service of 18 months. Granted, the construction soldiers do not carry any arms, yet they prepare military bases, bunkers, and similar installations needed for warfare." The listener also notes that such matters can be discussed only with "one's best friend" of whom you know that he is not "with the Stasi [State Security], though you cannot even rely on this anymore today."

CSO: 2300/381

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CHILDREN EXHORTED TO CONFRONT 'HOSTILE IDEAS'

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 51, 2 Apr 85 p 1

[Article datelined IWE Berlin 2 Apr 85: "GDR Youth Is To Be Qualified To Confront 'Antagonistic Views'"]

[Text] The leadership of the communist children's organization, "Young Pioneers," has now stressed the necessity of enabling the GDR youth, children in particular, to grapple with "antagonistic ideas" at an early age. The "class enemy" is said to use "unsupported intellectual positions, persisting political ambiguities and inadequate ideological knowledge to realize his political intentions." For that reason, it is especially important for young people engaged in the political struggle "to take the offensive in confronting false opinions in their own ranks, too." As the manual [PIONIERLEITER-METHODIK] emphasizes, there is no formula for doing that, but there are "basic guidelines for ideological work." Thus, "political discussions" with the children of the pioneer organization's functionaries are definitely to be included in planning. It is asserted that "the children are bombarded day after day by a profusion of information and impressions which they cannot in all cases classify, evaluate and digest." At this point, youth officials are supposed to step in and have "political discussions" with the children "to guide them to new or more profound concepts and insights." Whoever expresses "opinions requiring correction" must not "be laughed at or condemned." It is precisely "false opinions" which provoke thought and argument, "and thus invite accurate, party line argumentation and calculated decisions," the methodological manual of the GDR children's organization states. Through the "political discussions" the children are also supposed to recognize "that the creation of everything new and progressive is a complicated process" which is characterized "not only by successes but also by temporary setbacks."

CSO: 2300/ 393

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

LEGAL AMBIGUITY HAMPERS INNOVATION--Uncertainty about the disciplinary measures when research projects go awry, or about the implications under labor law and, in certain circumstances, criminal law is apparently having a considerable negative effect on GDR industrial scientists' willingness to take risks. According to the East Berlin journal, NEUE JUSTIZ, decades of experience dealing with risk problems indicate that deficiencies in legal guarantees negatively affect the capacity for creative endeavor. It is thus possible that uncertainties with respect to legal opinions may lead to a preference for old ways and technology because they are legally "covered." According to the journal, however, these are patterns of behavior that have to be changed, for they are not suited to disposing of present day tasks. It is necessary to further refine legal provisions in this area in order to foster a "healthy willingness to take risks." [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 59, 19 Apr 85 p 2]

CSO: 2300/397



HUNGARY

COMMUNIQUE ON ROMANIAN PREMIER'S VISIT

LD251151 Budapest MTI in English 1747 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 24 (MTI)--Constantin Dascalescu, head of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR), paid an official friendship visit to Hungary between April 23 and 24, 1985, on the invitation of Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic (HPR).

Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Constantin Dascalescu. During the discussion of a frank and comradely atmosphere the sides exchanged views on the state of the Hungarian-Romanian relations and the promotion of the cooperation of the two countries.

In the course of their discussion the two prime ministers exchanged briefs on achievements in and experiences of socialist construction, evaluated the state of bilateral relations, examined the further possibilities of promoting cooperation and reviewed some timely world affairs. They signed an aide-memoire on questions of economic cooperation.

The prime ministers stressed the special importance of the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty, which was renewed in 1972, and of the top-level agreements of 1977, for strengthening the friendship and cooperation of the Hungarian and Romanian peoples and promoting the good-neighbourly relations of the HPR and the SRR. They emphasized the decisive role of the relations of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Romanian Communist Party and the importance of the meetings and agreements of Janos Kadar and Nicolae Ceausescu for the many-sided promotion of Hungarian-Romanian cooperation. They confirmed that their governments would continue working for the good of the top-level agreements and the two countries would seek mutually beneficial [as received].

Evaluating the bilateral economic relations the two prime ministers stated that--despite the unfavourable world economic situation--the Hungarian-Romanian economic cooperation developed in various areas. They described it as necessary to utilize more intensively the possibilities of the development of economic cooperation in increasing the exchange of goods, specialization and cooperation in production, while taking into consideration the two countries' continuously increasing economic potential and the advantages of

being neighbours. This year's more dynamic rise in goods exchange, mutual interest in cooperation in the production of road vehicles, agro-machinery, machine tools, electronic and computer appliances, medicines and crop protectives, provide a realistic basis for the expansion of economic relations.

They acknowledged the service of the Intergovernmental Joint Economic and Cooperation Commission and authorized it to assure the consistent implementation of the agreements.

The prime ministers agreed that it was necessary to finalize in the near future the plan coordination protocol for the next five years, the goods exchange and payments agreement for 1986-90, and the long-term schedule of the development of economic, technical and scientific cooperation, also by assuring the possibility of permanent company level commercial deals.

The sides confirmed their readiness to participate actively in the development of many-sided economic, technical and scientific cooperation in the spirit of the agreements passed by the top-level economic conference of the CMEA member countries.

The two prime ministers stressed the importance of the development of cooperation in culture, education, science, the information of the public, health, sports and other areas. They expressed their conviction that the fostering of the progressive and revolutionary traditions of the Hungarian and Romanian peoples, the exchange and mutual study of intellectual and artistic works will contribute to the strengthening of the friendship of the two peoples and heightening respect for each other.

Discussing timely world affairs the two prime ministers spoke with concern of the dangers that are threatening international peace and security. They confirmed their countries' resolve that, as members of the Warsaw Treaty and alongside other member states of the treaty, the other socialist countries and other states of the world, they will resolutely act to curb the arms race, especially concerning nuclear arms, and act in favour of disarmament, the safeguarding of peace and for the promotion of reciprocally advantageous wide-ranging international cooperation.

The talks of the two prime ministers took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere and contributed to the development of Hungarian-Romanian relations, the deepening of the cooperation of the two countries, and the strengthening of Hungarian-Romanian friendship.

Constantin Dascalescu invited Gyorgy Lazar to pay an official friendship visit to Romania. Gyorgy Lazar accepted the invitation with thanks.

CSO: 2020/109

HUNGARY

LAWYER EXPLAINS CIRCUMSTANCES OF AMNESTIES

AU231206 [Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian on 22 April 1985 on page 5 carries a 1,200-word interview given by Laszlo Szuk, criminal jurist, to correspondent Istvan Javorniczky, headlined: "Amnesty--Forgiveness and Confidence."

After briefly dealing with the historical tradition of amnesty throughout the ages, Laszlo Szuk says that "many people consider an amnesty as an institution connected with criminals, although forgiveness has never been a sign of weakness. On the contrary, it is part of power." Szuk also points out that those who exercise amnesty "weigh the social usefulness of such a decision," and not primarily the worthiness.

Answering a question concerning the number of amnesty decisions in Hungary, Szuk says that there is no way of telling whether there are too many or too few amnesty decisions, as there are no exact data available on the number of individual pardons that have been granted over the years.

In his reply to the interviewer's claim that most people regard the granting of an amnesty as a sign of weakness, Szuk complains about the public attitude towards the convicted criminals released and stresses that "if the state pardons someone then this must be accepted by public opinion too, and it should not regard it as a criminal being lucky," but he also admits that "the practice of amnesty makes the good people insecure and encourages the bad ones. We have to take into consideration this effect."

Then, Laszlo Szuk speaks about the unlimited nature of the amnesty, stressing, nevertheless, that there are crimes, like war crimes, for instance, that are not covered by the amnesty, and about the fact that the amnesty is linked to conditions and is not valid forever as "in the event of a new crime being committed--within a determined period of time--the amnesty can lose its validity." He continues by saying that this shows the assertion of confidence and not tolerant good will.

In conclusion, Laszlo Szuk points out that the present amnesty was granted "to criminals the great majority of whom committed unintentional crimes and their personal danger to society is rather low" and so their imprisonment is not an appropriate punishment. Laszlo Szuk concludes by listing the types of amnesty granted and the occasions on which they are generally granted.

CSO: 2500/345

HUNGARY

'HISTORIA' EDITOR ON REGIME POLICIES: MINORITIES, REFORM

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian Mar 85 pp 81-86

[Interview with Ferenc Glatz, editor in chief of HISTORIA, by Katalin Mogyoro of the Hungarian Radio staff: "About National Awareness, Nationalism, Reform"]

[Text] Our interviewee, Ferenc Glatz, is a historian, science candidate, and the editor in chief of HISTORIA. In a departure from past practice, he has answered the questions in writing. Therefore we are publishing his interview essay "in one piece," after the questions:

1. Reform or revolution? This question has posed a dilemma for many periods. No doubt you, too, have been pondering this question, for you discuss this conflict in detail in your essays on Gyula Szekfu that have attracted wide attention. In other words, reform of the existing state is actually counterrevolutionary. Does the judgment of reform and revolution present a problem or conflict for present-day Hungarian historical science?

2. How is it possible to play politics with history? Or are there historians who would like to alter the present images of our history in accordance with their own political views? To what extent must we take into consideration the sensibilities of other countries and peoples when exploring and publishing the facts of our history?

Reading your interview questions away from Budapest, I am unable to propose orally that we reverse the sequence in which they are numbered. Therefore I have done so arbitrarily. Partially because the second question evokes in me a stronger desire to answer it as I watch the news reports on TV these days (we do not have a radio here). And in part because I have read the questions in their original sequence, the second one last, and therefore it is fresher in my mind as I pick up my pen.

Anyone in Hungary investigating Hungarian history will experience daily in his research that Hungary's history since 1945 has been developing hand in hand with the history of a new economic, political and military community. One of the many recurring mistakes in our history instruction and propaganda is

failure to call attention to the similarities that exist in the political development of the countries in this area since the liberation, in the positive and the negative sense as well. Not only have the power relations changed --with the liquidation of the bourgeois parties and merger of the worker parties--in the countries of the area between 1945 and 1948 according to a "common scenario" also in terms of their timing, but similarities can be identified even in the post-1948 period, in the timing and directions of the social-policy reforms and measures. Take the revolutionary transformation of agriculture, the land reform and collectivization on the one hand, and the persecution of kulaks on the other. Or the exceptionally rapid postwar stabilization of the economy, the nationalizations, and a few years later the drive against the so-called working-class aristocracy, the supplanting of the old organized workers, and the opposition to the Social Democrats within industry. Or consider the changes that took place in the area of culture: the rapid and extensive democratization, the "cultural revolution" of unprecedented speed in the history of the area, and then the senseless measures against the old intelligentsia, etc. Not to mention here the identical model of the state institutions in the area: the relationship among the party, state and trade unions; the national assembly's role; the relative importance of elections and self-governments within the state, etc. The foreign policies of the states within the area were identical also. Consider the diplomatic actions of our states, the series of mutual friendship and cooperation agreements in 1946-1948, and the joint--almost collective--standpoints on the main issues in international politics. Our historical propaganda has failed to call sufficient attention to this fact, perhaps because it fears the inimical arguments, raised so often against us, that "the countries in the area lost their independence" after 1945 or 1948.

As historians, however, we must start out from the facts. Looking back now on the history of the past 40 years, we must see also that in the course of our history there evolved two concepts of this community's operation. Both are a part of the socialist basic principles that generally determined from the moment of birth the entire socialist system's policies. One is a product of the 1947-1953 period. Starting out from the fact of the threat to the socialist world system, and from the logic of continuous preparedness for its defense, this concept wanted to achieve socialist unity by curbing the independence of the smaller communities belonging to the system. Relations between countries in the area were developed accordingly in practice as well. The other concept, the general outlines of which had evolved in 1953-1956, was formulated in the 30 October 1956 statement of the CPSU Central Committee. As a part of the process of democratization hallmarked by the the 20th CPSU Congress a few months earlier, this concept emphasized the importance of respecting the individual countries' independence within the process of socialist development, and of taking into consideration the peculiarities stemming from differences in national histories. The practical realization of this concept has proved to be a process "on a historical scale" and has not ended as yet.

But now the historian asks the question that he sets, as it were, for his own research as well: After the 20th CPSU Congress, has not the emphasis on the differences in the individual socialist countries led paradoxically to the underestimation of the importance of national and nationality rights? Has not the abstract internationalism, which had been typical of the preceding period, meant also that there could be no room left for emphasizing national identity?



As national peculiarities subsequently gained ground within the entire system, parallel with growing national awareness in the individual countries there was an upsurge of nationalisms that were a historical and emotional component of national independence. And then these nationalisms led--practically as a natural law--to the suspension of minority rights in the countries concerned, and to the violation of these rights in certain countries. In other words, the nationalisms had an antidemocratic effect. (Here we wish to note merely parenthetically the following: Specifically for this reason, because of the growing nationalism in East Europe, we historians greatly appreciate that the Hungarian government does not respond out of principle to nationalism with nationalism, and is striving to formulate an exemplary policy on its ethnic and religious minorities. We say that it is "striving to formulate" because the practical implementation of the sound basic principles still requires much detailed political work.)

The next question: What can the historian do, and what can the political administration do? Because they are experts investigating the history of politics and society, both know that the Hungarian People's Republic has primary interests stemming from membership in the socialist community, interests that caution prudence not only in answering these questions, but even in raising them. But then at meetings with readers and at consultations we are asked what degrees there are to the stylistic formulas, and why do we say only "consider but don't argue," "the situation at present" (incidentally, there is always a situation), or "the neighboring comrades might take offense," etc. Are we able to answer such questions frankly and in a manner that will satisfy the people? And if not, then why not? Or to the question: As a socialist political entity, what can our government do and what must it do to aid the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring socialist countries? And how do we answer this question: Is it a good thing that in conjunction with all this we are using only catchwords in the mass media? Here again the historian, an avowed enemy of all nationalism by virtue of his studies, seeks the answer in the individual nations' domestic political and social conditions, rather than in some of their "ethnic" characteristics. His answer: For decades after the liberation, our diplomacy and ideological apparatus have not become accustomed to treating this range of questions with the tools of diplomacy and politics, and today they are simply unprepared to successfully resolve the national conflicts arising in the area. Bear in mind that the Warsaw Treaty Organization represents the military interests of the community, and there is also CEMA, an institution for economic cooperation that functions in the well-known manner. But do we have such international forums that could be set into motion at the level of the socialist countries when problems "of the new type" arise? But there is also another question that is raised time and again. Is our scientific, cultural and foreign-policy propaganda any good? I do not recommend the bad practice of first sending students on scholarship to a country, and then a huge package containing brochures in various languages attacking the history of neighboring countries, and offensive showy works that distort the facts (we have long ceased to care about offending national sensibilities). But it is now a recognized fact that we are lagging behind in acquainting foreign countries with our history and cultural development, and with our real role in the area. And also that the responsibility for this lag must be borne primarily

by the cultural and scientific middle management and the professional leadership, rather than by the practical politician.

Specifically because he is familiar with the history of the area's immediate past, the historian values immensely the policy that leads people to ask frank questions. And he subscribes also to the cultural policy that enables intellectuals to discuss their problems even before socially useful forums, and not only over black coffee or a cognac. But perhaps this is the point where the views of the historian and of the practical politician differ. Because, in my opinion, we have to tell those who are asking us critical questions that we are unprepared. Otherwise we would only be pouring oil on the fire of the merits that--understandably--will not burn themselves out readily, are--regrettably--highly vulnerable since Trianon, and as ideological elements could easily gel into nationalism. It is perhaps a reflection of the historian's extreme unfamiliarity with life to say so, but I am not certain that the upsurge of nationalism is being caused by the people who are asking how long must socialist Hungary continue to practically beg for pardon daily because the Treaty of Trianon annexed Hungarian minorities to other countries. I think we should stop to ponder whether nationalism is being reproduced--for, unfortunately, it is--because we who should be resolving these tragic contradictions with the tools of socialist politics have not produced suitable results in this respect. And I even venture to say that it is not the historians who are reviving nationalism, because they do not have that much influence. The confiscation of a Hungarian book at the border can cause more harm in public opinion than any nationalist historian.

And this is how a conflict arises in the historian: between the Marxist researcher who considers it his duty to publish the conclusions of his investigations, and the Communist citizen who supports the present government's policy and takes the "foreign" considerations into account. The historian believes that a decisive argument in the struggle against nationalism, one that is formulated very much in the spirit of the classics of Marxism, would be to explain to the public that there is no separate "policy" and separate "nationality policy"; nationality policy, as every policy on minorities, is an integral part of government policy as a whole. It would be considered a violation of the present (or more accurately, of the very old) political rules of the game if we were to point out to the public that a system of government which denies the national and religious minorities their rights is also in trouble with guaranteeing the majority's democratic rights, what we perceive as socialist democracy. For what is the national minority's right if not one of the democratic freedoms? We fully understand the government's difficulties. But what science other than social science should repeatedly urge current action, and perhaps provide suggestions for it? We think that such urgings should be accepted with utmost tolerance, because they formulate real problems. And it would be shortsightedness if either side failed to perceive that we are trying to push the same wagon out of the mud.

In my opinion, the question of reform or revolution is one of the fundamental issues of our time. In our literature we truly tend to equate the slogan of reform with the slogan of counterrevolution. But I think that the relationship between reform and revolution appears quite differently in the various periods.

How Gyula Szekfu's thinking evolved is truly the best example of this. After the 1918-1919 revolution, when Szekfu outlined his conservative reform ideas on the material of Hungarian history and the policy of consolidation incorporated this conservative reform, the reform also meant subsequent realization of the fact that after 1919 it was not possible to engage in politics in the same way as before 1918. Thus Gyula Szekfu actually raises the "what would have happened if" question after 1918-1919. Could Hungarian society have avoided the revolution had it listened to the conservative reformers? Incidentally, we know that Szekfu answered this question incorrectly. Not the conservative but the leftist reformers--the bourgeois liberals, and partially the bourgeois radicals and the Social Democrats with their reformist program--could have helped Hungarian society of that time, through reforms. In other words, what happened in this case was that the revolution drastically brought to the surface the issues representing the previous regime's crisis and attempted to answer them. The postrevolutionary reform was truly counterrevolutionary as well. From the late 1930's on, the same Gyula Szekfu demanded reforms--but now toward the left--because he believed that otherwise an upheaval of Hungary's national society would be unavoidable. And at this point there appears yet another interpretation of reform. Szekfu then wanted to change the existing system so as to avoid the next revolution. The reform in this case is a purposeful series of measures stemming from recognition of the need for further development.

At the end of the 20th century, in a new historical situation, the relationship between reform and revolution again arises differently. We must ask ourselves whether the changes in society's development at the end of the 20th century are taking place through revolution in the old, traditional sense. Is it permissible to equate "revolution" with "political revolution"? Are we not limiting ourselves excessively to the changes in the exercise of state power when we speak of revolution? Are not the changes taking place deep within society that are recasting imperceptibly entire society's political and economic structure? For example, I think that 21st century historiography, if there is any, will regard the so-called Greens of today as greater revolutionaries than those who are setting off bombs or dissipating in general political struggles between parties their momentum to create a new society. But let us go on with the questions. Is it permissible to regard the "radical" as "revolutionary"? Can political revolution of the old type (whose model we equate with the revolution!) be at all an alternative for a modern industrial society? Or is the revolution in our time taking place in a sphere entirely different from the one on which our attention is focused? Take the wide variety of ideas on revolution within the revolutionary movements at the middle of 19th century; very few people at that time considered as truly revolutionary the Marxian ideas that we now regard as the most consistent.

There is that much more emphasis today on the new interpretation or application of reform. The modern state mechanism is now able to perceive the reform ideas (in the interest of its own survival, it allows them to be voiced within the framework of political democracy) that provide an opportunity to avoid political revolution specifically through changes in the system. Here, regrettably, there is much toying with the concepts. The essential thing, in my opinion, is that a society is able to ensure its further progress through a series of purposeful measures--a reform--stemming from recognition of the need for change.

If we consider, for example, in the history of the socialist countries the series of events that produced abrupt changes, such as in 1953, 1956, 1968 and 1980, then we must say that these breaks in their development occurred because the existing structures were unable to implement the modifications and reforms of the political system that the social and economic changes demanded. In this sense I have been excited by the question of reform since the 1960's. In my judgment, our political system must be one with the ability to continuously renew itself. We may also say that it must be a political system capable of continuous social and political reform.

It is an entirely different matter that I now believe--having gained since the 1970's a more thorough understanding of the attempts at renewal in the developed bourgeois societies in Western Europe and overseas, and of their left-wing political movements and conservative reform movements--that also the developed capitalist industrial societies are confronted daily with the alternatives of reform or rigidity. Up to now modern industrial capitalism has been able to incorporate the reform ideas into its political system, although neither the ones who shaped it nor the ones who constitute it regard this political system as ideal. The reform ideas that can avoid the political system's rigidity and its consequences: abrupt changes in policy, and political revolution. But to what extent are these reform measures able to forestall the effects of the irresistible social processes that are taking place deep within society and will generate crises as concomitants of modern capitalism? Will not today's (19th and 20th century) traditional state power be dismantled specifically by the generations that will simply set aside the considerations of state power and party power, will have no place for such considerations in their conception of the future, and--wanting to breathe fresh air in the world of microchips--will not be willing to engage in politics by methods involving parliamentary debates lasting tens of hours or street provocations?

If from our analysis of contemporary bourgeois politics we now want to draw lessons for our own politics, all this of course also warns us that within the concept of "reform" it is no longer possible to distinguish economic reform, social reform, and reform of the system of political institutions. In my opinion, for example, the "revolutionary" change taking place in the technological culture of the developed societies of Western Europe will have an enormous socioeconomic impact in the coming decades. The only way this change can take place is that continuous political and social reforms (left-wing in the FRG and the Skandinavian countries, for example; and conservative as in the United States and England) make possible the dynamic restructuring of the economy. There is much talk about the defense industry as the source of the epoch-making development of microelectronics and information science. True, but this required a political mechanism operating with pressure (tax policy, etc.) within the spontaneous economy, to channel capital and entrepreneurs to the defense industry and to generate growth there, so that the microelectronics and the perfect photomechanical processes developed for military applications could then flow back to the sphere of consumer goods, providing personal computers and amazing automatic photographic equipment for the children to play with. On the other hand, of course, all this unquestionably offers military and political advantages for those societies.

If we now examine in this context the socialist countries' development during the past 15 years, I as a historian find that in the 1980's the socialist system will be taking its examination in ability to institute reform. And unless the socialist system passes this examination with an excellent grade, it is to be feared that there will again be--as an elderly friend and colleague put it--an "inflection" in the region's economic development.

1014

CSO: 2500/332



HUNGARY

ROMANIAN PREMIER'S 24 APR ACTIVITIES

LD250628 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text] Budapest, April 24 (MTI)--As reported Gyorgy Lazar and Constantin Dascalescu held talks with a few officials present.

Then Prime Minister Dascalescu visited the BHG Telecommunications Company, which has a work force of 9,000. The visitors were welcomed by Ferenc Horvath, secretary of state for industry. The BHG develops and produces telephone exchanges and also manufactures television transmitters and relays. It established noteworthy cooperation with Romania in the 1960's, when it started to supply one telephone subexchange a year for the neighbouring socialist country.

Prime Minister Dascalescu then visited Benta Volgye farming cooperative at Erd, where he was greeted by Gabor Magyar, deputy minister of agriculture and food. Answering a question posed by the Romanian prime minister, officials of the farms said that "Benta Volgye," which has an arable area of some 2,000 hectares, ensures employment throughout the year for its 750 members. Side activities cover construction, ironmongery production and the cottage industry. Prime Minister Dascalescu visited a meat processing plant of the farm and the household plot of a coop member.

As the final item of the official schedule, Gyorgy Lazar and Constantin Dascalescu signed an aide-memoire on issues of economic cooperation.

Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Petrescu, accompanied by Deputy Prime Minister Laszlo Marothy, visited the Central Research Institute for Physics and viewed the laser, microelectronics and nuclear research laboratory.

There were further talks during the day. Ferenc Horvath, secretary of state for industry, had talks with Alexandru Stanescu, deputy minister of machine building industry, and Nicolae Paraschiv, deputy minister of chemical industry, in the Ministry of Industry. In the Ministry of Foreign Trade Deputy Minister Janos Ambrus had talks with his opposite number, Ion Stoian on the realization of the stipulations of this year's goods exchange agreement.

HUNGARY

ATTEMPTS TO EXTEND LOCAL COUNCIL 'AUTONOMY' DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Mar 85 p 9

[Article: "Autonomy"]

[Text] "In the politics of settlement planning the evolution of the council's autonomy means opening up the sphere of activities and the potential for initiative. If they are lawful, let not the initiatives of citizens, or efforts to form organizations be met with suspicion or protest. Let us overlook the initial difficulties and shortcomings of starting up."

The quote is from a convention speech by Imre Pozsgay. The admonition is unambiguous and self-explanatory, just as the importance of expanding spheres of activity and the development of autonomy can hardly be questioned. These days hardly anyone does question them, at least in general. In every day reality however, cases of suspicion do occur, and usually they stem from those official bodies which should be supporting the realization of the ideals mentioned. What can be the root of this peculiar contradiction?

Imre Klenovich, First Secretary of the Party Committee of Somogy County, reflects on it this way:

A new organizational regulation and the declaration of some new ideal does not in itself mean that everything is wiped clean from individual minds. For workers at state and societal organs, it is understandable that the following question arises these days: Wasn't it easier to do the job when higher authorities provided detailed guidelines for practically everything? As a result the responsibility of those performing the job was pushed into the background. Some people got used to this practice and increased responsibility is more of a burden for them than it is a stage for the unfolding of their potential. On the other hand the new point of view has also released certain individualistic aspirations. There are those who see in the present broader autonomy only the chance to further their own narrowly conceived self interests, without concerning themselves with the interests of the larger community. Doing this they cater to the argument of those who swear by centralized control. In spite of all this, we in Somogy County see great strengths in autonomy, as well as in those activities pursued by the ever increasing number of associations. I think that these will become important pillars of our village and city politics in the near future.

HUNGARY

AUTONOMY IN FILM INDUSTRY DESCRIBED

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 31 Mar 85 p 26

[Article by Gyula Hegyi: "Autonomy for Filmmakers at the Balazs Bela Studio"]

[Text] Although experts differ about whether the real birthday of the twice-founded Balazs Bela Studio was 1958 or 1959, what is certain is that the perennial facility for young filmmakers--abbreviated as BBS--has by now been in operation for over a quarter of a century. The youngest members include artists born during the late fifties.

We can read about the periods of crisis, or put more finely, "periods of socialist accumulation" at the Balazs Bela Studio in professional journals. At different times, BBS trends occasionally led to serious debates and increased administrative control, but taken as a whole the studio's operation has been inseparable from the development of Hungarian cinematic art over the last quarter of a century. It is hard to find a Hungarian film director under fifty years of age who has not participated in the BBS's work sometime during the studio's periods. And there is hardly a single trend in today's Hungarian films (with the possible exception of commercial movies) which could not be tied to the studio's past experiments and trial runs.

The First Six Years

Without providing an exhaustive list of those who made their first independent films here it is worth mentioning some of the better known representatives: Janos Rozsa, Pal Sandor, Sandor Sara, Academy Award winner Istvan Szabo, and the young Zoltan Huszarik who met a tragic death, we should include those over a decade later: Istvan Darday, Gyula Gazda and Laszlo Vitezy (who on the basis of their experiences at the BBS founded the Tarsulas [partnership], which functions like a major studio, or Gabor Body, Andrew Jeles, Janos Xantus--the young directors who have reaped equal measures of success and stormy debate in the last few years.

It is obvious that the forum for serious autonomy created by the budding filmmakers has had an impact beyond the world of film. It has provided the impetus for the creation of similar studios and workplaces in other

artistic fields. Today young composers, writers, graphic artists and craftsmen come together in more or less independent organizations. There are two workshops operating at the same time within Hungarian Television that at least partially resemble the BBS: the Hungarian Television Communist Youth League Studio and the Young Artists Studio.

Although there is much debate over the output and to a certain extent over the ideals of these beginning artists, as well as some justified critical attention, it should not be forgotten that many of the respected luminaries of our cultural life started their creative work in similar workshops, often with similar brash experiments. Therefore, the success of the work done at these workshops can only be judged from a certain distance in time.

Essentially there are three basic principles furthering the continuous renewal and creative work--that is often not without its fresh experimental side--at the Balazs Bela Studio: the continuous replacement of membership, the studio's autonomy and the opportunity to make films without the constraint of having to exhibit them. The BBS accomplishments with significance in film history rest on these three pillars. In no other country have these three conditions been brought together like this to help young filmmakers launch their careers.

The studio is primarily a work place for filmmakers--directors, cameramen--who have just graduated from college. Following graduation they count as regular voting members for six years. At present there 69 core members of the BBS, about half of them are truly active members who regularly come up with film ideas. Even after 6 years departure is not compulsory, just as talented individuals lacking college diplomas are occasionally given an opportunity to join if approved by the general membership under the guidance of its 5-member directorate which is elected by the members.

The leadership emerges from among the most active current members, and coordinates the work of the studio with considerable independence. For example, it decides the fate of submitted screenplays practically with complete freedom. It determines by voting how much money is to be allocated to each production from available funds. The distribution plan for films produced this way is only decided on after the films are completed. It is therefore possible to end up with strictly experimental films not intended for general audiences, but made exclusively for the narrowest professional circles as finger exercises. Let us not forget that the beginning filmmaker, unlike the poet, composer or graphic artist, can hardly practise alone at home, and in this regard only the prospect of the wider availability of video can bring meaningful change.

#### Ten Films A Year

Without any curtailment of its autonomy the BBS is organizationally linked to several institutions. It makes use of support from MAFILM [Hungarian Film Corporation] as a resource organization. It uses technical equipment and space provided by MAFILM, and the permanent staff assisting the studio's work, like Gyorgy Durst--the enthusiastic and multi-faceted organization secretary of the BBS--are salaried as MAFILM employees.

The organization with authority to oversee the studio is the Society of Hungarian Film and Television Artists, but this supervision in effect amounts to preview screenings and debates over already completed films; just as societal control is exercised in practise during this same stage of the BBS's work by the Chief Directorate of Film of the Education Ministry.

Completed films are slotted into one of three categories. Some films are not exhibited at all on artistic/esthetic grounds or because of their content, they can be projected only with prior permission from the Chief Directorate of Film for each individual screening. Others are exhibited at clubs, cultural institutions and occasionally at foreign film festivals. Films in the third category can be shown anywhere without any restrictions. Few have had this opportunity--and then infrequently.

The Balazs Bela Studio is also represented at the Council of Young Artists, which operates alongside the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Youth League. This spring this body happens to be debating the position of young filmmakers with the active participation of the studio. The studio also promotes international cooperation, maintaining good contacts with young filmmakers in both western and eastern countries--although nowhere else is there a facility with the same simultaneous blend of financial and organizational autonomy. In Poland there have been several attempts to create a similar studio, but so far none have been successful. Filmmaker organizations composed largely of young filmmakers have been founded in several western countries however, but they have to raise their own funding.

As far as its financial means are concerned, the Balazs Bela Studio is fundamentally built on state support. During recent years however, it has sought to supplement this sum with co-production deals. The studio receives an annual sum of 8 million forints from the state, which it can then disburse at the discretion of the directorate to the various individual productions. An annual average of ten rather low budget films are made from this allocation. At the moment there are three foreign co-productions in the works, bringing in a total additional western contribution amounting to DM 5 00,000-600,000. These primarily involve ZDF [Second German Channel], a television network traditionally active in Hungarian FRG film collaboration. We are not talking about hired help but about film and video productions made with the active participation of Hungarian artists and technicians, often directed by a Hungarian writer.

There are also domestic co-productions being made. The studio has a good collaborative relationship with the Tarsulas film studio--which in a sense is its own offspring--as well as with television's Hungarian Communist Youth League Studio. The explosive increase in technical costs naturally limits the possibilities for the BBS. A promising dramatic film plan inevitably takes funds away from other scripts, and since the studio is above all a facility for college graduates, it is now harder than it used to be to get a go-ahead for a film idea submitted by an outsider. But as Gyorgy Durst says, "a tremendously good production idea" is supported, it must be supported, financed, backed and given a chance, even if it is brought in by an outsider.



Zoltan Bonta's new Balazs Bela Studio film "Panorama of the Times" presents a catalogue of mostly 30-year-old artists who work in the most diverse artistic fields and their works. But BBS cameras have also captured several important and experimental theatrical performances. A 6-hour long international video magazine composed of 99 segments was produced; the 3-4-minute works by Hungarian and foreign videomakers that follow one another provide an exciting picture of the artistic possibilities of video. While we are on the subject, it is worth mentioning that the studio's newly acquired video equipment offers facility members new opportunities, although for the time being the new equipment is used primarily for making documentary films. This is how one of the studio's typical ventures recently made it to celluloid. Five years in the shooting, Andras Szirtes's 3-hour-long one-man-work named "Diary" could hardly have been made at a "normal" film studio. Likewise, Janos Toth's experimental works, several years in the making, could only have come out of this facility.

#### For Every Day

With regard to distribution, even those Balazs Bela Studio productions deemed acceptable for general distribution can only be seen rarely and sporadically by the general public. During the last few years, MOKEP [Hungary's Domestic Motion Picture Distributing Organization] picked up only 5 or 6 BBS films for exhibition. Other outlets--clubs, institutions, educational and youth houses, events organized by the Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge--however, show Balazs Bela Studio films more often. These organizations, as opposed to MOKEP, can borrow the BBS productions free. Thanks to this cost-free lending of films and to the interest of enthusiastic public educators and club leaders in new directions in film, an average of one film is borrowed each day. While not exactly a soaring success, public distribution continues to function regularly.

Naturally, the fact that there is no obligation to exhibit their films does not mean that the studio's young members would not gladly show their work to smaller or larger audiences both in Hungary and abroad. The BBS is also a part of our universal artistic life and its productions are not merely exercises or documentaries. Primarily as artistic creations they are part and parcel of our collective cultural wealth.

12233

CSO: 2500/327

YUGOSLAVIA

SURVEY DISCLOSES ATTITUDES ON DECLINING LIVING STANDARD

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1787, 31 Mar 85  
pp 12-14

[Article by Dusan Sekulic: "The Limits of Tolerance"]

[Text] Of the jest that when some people eat meat and others only sauerkraut, on the average all are eating stuffed cabbage there has remained still only the fact that there is less and less meat. But at the same time, instead of fighting for everyone to have more meat, they are still leading us with full success into the direction whereby we are using our scanty spoons to beat over the head those craftier people who somehow manage to get ahold of a crumb of something which is not cabbage that is not wrapped around anything. There have already been and a new series has been announced of meetings, plenums and conferences on the standard of living, on social welfare policy, on the need to provide protection to those most threatened. Everything that has been done so far has in essence come down to an attempt at fairer distribution of poverty. Except for vague declarations and theories encumbered with many "if's" and "if only's," on the horizon there is still no very sensible and universally acceptable recipe for the way of reaching a condition where social energy is used for fairer distribution of abundance.

The degree to which the social consciousness accepts the reality of this possibility is evident from the very fact that one of the principal political topics is how to save households with the lowest income from falling into the gloomiest misery. At this point, however, two questions--for which there is no reliable answer, immediately blocked the way. The first: What is the threshold of poverty and what is the minimum that guarantees basic physical subsistence? The second: How many people are there who are already unable to survive? There is no precise nor even approximately accurate answer to either question.

A Hole in the Budget

"We in the trade unions have a datum to the effect that a four-member family needs at least 29,000 a month for basic subsistence," says Svetlana Bozinovic of the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions. "That datum is also being used by the Federal Committee for Labor as well as other political organizations."

"According to our recent analyses, the average monthly expenditures of a four-member city family amount to a minimum of 75,000 dinars," says Toma Milisavljevic, MA, of the Bureau for Market Research. "That is why it is so necessary to meet basic needs after this new blow of higher prices in February. Our model of the average four-member family, which we have been using to follow income and expenditures for years now, has an income which is 1.6-fold the average personal income of one person. That means that if the average personal income is about 30,000, this statistical family of ours has income of about 48,000 dinars, and consequently, a 'hole' of about 27,000 in the household budget, or almost an entire average monthly personal income! That paradox is nothing new at all, since it has been in place for years, it is just that the gap between needs and possibilities is getting wider and wider."

It is logical to assume that this difference is being made up somehow. In a survey of NIN's researchers, however, only 20 percent of the respondents confessed to having such income. That datum must quite certainly be regarded suspiciously, for the simple reason that we cannot neglect such facts as that 40 percent of Yugoslavia's households are mixed (which means that someone in the household is employed in a factory and someone is tilling the land), and then the datum that at least 2 million employed persons are working "on the sly" after working hours, that the category of those receiving interest on savings deposits is no longer a small one, that among them are hundreds of thousands of families which have someone working abroad, and then finally someone is spending the earnings of those several tens of thousands of smugglers and traffickers.

Never yet has the effect of the advantage of living in tourist areas been seriously taken into account in an examination of Yugoslavia's social welfare geography; this is the case of at least 10 percent of the population, and according to perhaps exaggerated estimates in the West, it has kept in its pockets about \$2 billion from the last tourist season.

#### All Are Victims

It is not our purpose at all to enumerate all this in order to show that there is no misery and that there is no need for a serious social welfare policy or concern of society. On the contrary. All of this should be taken into account so that it is easier to appreciate the crying need to create--however repulsive it might sound--a serious social welfare map of Yugoslavia. After all, everything that has been done so far with the idea of helping those who are most threatened, about which it is true there is only a dim idea, has gone in the direction of leveling. Those whose jobs could have provided them a larger personal income have been held back in one way or another, justifiably or not justifiable at all [?], on behalf of helping those with smaller pay. As this has happened, everyone together has been sinking lower and lower, jointly paying the bill of an ineffective stabilization policy that has been carried out with half measures. We have all been sacrificed together, and if there are no results which would give us joy, neither is there any light to be seen as yet at the end of the tunnel.

In a survey of the Center for Marketing Research in Zagreb, last year it was found on a Yugoslav sample that all of 40 percent of the households with average income under 15,000 dinars a month feel that "by and large they are meeting" their needs, while that percentage is 64 among those with earnings above 45,000. In the NIN survey a majority also said that their standard of living was threatened "not at all" up through "moderately."

#### The Right Way, the Most Difficult Way

That is why people are gradually becoming more and more aware that the present method is leading into a blind alley and that the only right way is to make it possible for people to make better earnings by their labor, especially in fact because it is estimated that motivation to work has fallen to a dangerous limit. Of course, that is also the most difficult way, since it is quite certainly going to make it necessary to make certain moves and changes which society is not ready for--that is, certain structures of society.

"At the moment we are witnesses of a situation which would be hard to find in any other system," says Petrasin Petrasinovic, director of the Bureau for Market Research. "Since 1976 we have not had a more balanced relationship between supply and demand than at this moment. Last year consumption fell to 3 percent, this year it will fall at least 5 percent. This is evident from the first glance, on the basis of the good level of supply. Unfortunately, we are talking about smaller capabilities for purchasing, since individuals do not have money. Why then do we have record inflation? Because it is cost inflation."

Inflation and a further drop in the standard of living can be prevented only if production costs are also driven down. This cannot be done by reducing personal incomes, since they are already at the lower limit of tolerance.

Petrasinovic nevertheless asserts optimistically that in the second half of the year it will be better, since inflation will be "blowing itself out" during these months, and in any case the pockets of individuals no longer provide an opportunity for a further rise of prices. Today, for example, it takes only 10 of those notorious freezes to meet the demand in Belgrade: their price is 100,000. Who will buy a color television set for 200,000? Have you noted the unprecedented wonder: TAS has been advertising its "golf" diesel, which until recently was purchased on the black market? The same process has also been noted on the open-air produce market, the sole segment of our market where market laws do govern and where even republic borders do not represent an obstacle. The prices of certain articles are at last year's level or have risen incomparably less than other goods.

Certainly there is still an urgent need to determine exactly where the threshold of poverty is, and in doing so we should not forget that in this society today a full stomach does not by any means signify escape from poverty. But if we should continue to vacillate about eliminating the causes of poverty by every means, heedless of those who in defending some interest of their own have been discussing how many (socialist) angels can sit at an official's desk, we have all the conditions for resolving social inequities in a radical way: we will all be a social welfare case.

[Table, p 12]

NIN Survey: How We Are Surviving the Price Rises

<u>Question</u>	<u>SFRV</u>	<u>Belgrade</u>
Which price rises have been the most difficult for you recently?*		
Higher price of food	60%	54%
Communications	23%	20%
Clothing and footwear	5%	8%
Gasoline	4%	2%
Other	7%	14%
Everything hurts me	16%	14%
Nothing hurts me	5%	2%
Are you making advance preparations for any price rises?		
I do not believe in that	36%	34%
I am unable to do so	36%	46%
I am saving in planning	16%	10%
I am building up stocks	12%	10%
How much of the price rises threaten the standard of living of your family?		
None at all	7%	2%
Little	7%	16%
Moderately	37%	34%
A great deal	46%	40%
No answer	3%	8%
What is the biggest thing you have been giving up?*		
Going out and cultural events	39%	40%
Clothing and footwear	39%	32%
Travel and summer vacation	24%	26%
Food	13%	16%
Driving the car	12%	10%
I have been giving up everything	12%	22%
I have not been giving up anything	9%	6%
How much could you still give up certain things? (Where is the limit of your self-sacrifices?)		
I do not see a limit	27%	14%
I have come close to the limit	20%	20%
I am already at the limit	20%	20%
I have gone beyond any limit	4%	2%
No answer	29%	44%



<u>Question</u>	<u>SFRY</u>	<u>Belgrade</u>
Who in your opinion is to blame for the large price rises?*		
Our economic policy	33%	40%
We are all to blame	21%	14%
The country's political leadership	12%	30%
The world economic crisis	9%	0%
I don't know	25%	16%
No answer	2%	0%

How effective are the measures which are being taken today to reduce inflation?

Rather effective	2%	6%
Time will tell	7%	2%
Not effective	39%	54%
Not being carried out	22%	18%
Nothing is being done	8%	2%
I don't know	22%	18%

When do you think there are prospects for you personally and your family to deal once and for all with inflation?

In a year or two	3%	0%
In a few years	9%	6%
It is uncertain when	50%	58%
That does not depend on us	27%	22%
I am not feeling the inflation	6%	0%
No answer	5%	14%

Over what period of time, in your assessment, will inflation calm down in our society as a whole?

In a year or two	7%	4%
In a few years	17%	4%
It is uncertain when	61%	66%
That depends on the country's leadership	10%	16%
No answer	5%	10%

\* The total number of percentages exceeds 100 because some people gave more than one answer.

[Box, pp 12-13]

#### Composition of Participants in the Survey

Those contacted in this survey of NIN were chosen according to the method which has now become established and which uses the computer to take from telephone books from the entire territory of the SFRY respondents in proportion to the number of households by republics and provinces. Although the strict rules of this method eliminate any bias in choosing the individuals who will

be surveyed, this sample cannot be considered representative of the entire adult population of the SFRY, above all because it is restricted to telephone subscribers, who are not uniformly distributed in all strata of the population, and then also because it is limited to 100 units.

The willingness to cooperate on the part of the people whom we telephoned was somewhat poorer this time than in other cases. Among the reasons given by those who refused to participate in the survey the ones which stand out, aside from the usual ones (illness, being busy, etc.), was the repulsiveness of the topic itself ("I have had enough of the price increases, I don't want to talk about it"). It is interesting, however, that this time those who agreed to the survey included a somewhat higher percentage who expressed a desire not to be anonymous (31 percent).

A sample of 100 respondents is not large enough to draw any final conclusions that would have scientific weight, but it is--in the opinion of experts of the Federal Bureau for Statistics with whom we consulted in projecting the survey--a relatively reliable indicator of present currents in Yugoslav public opinion as a whole. This kind of newspaper survey is taking on particular importance today when scientific soundings of public opinion have been reduced to local--republic or city--limits. As a supplement to the basic survey we also polled 50 "housewives" at the open-air produce markets in Belgrade. Their answers in large part coincide with the answers of the telephone subscribers (they are given separately in all the tables).

[Table, p 13]

Average Earnings February 1984-February 1985 (Federal Bureau of Statistics)

<u>City</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>
Sarajevo	20,089	29,019	Ljubljana	26,492	42,014
Titograd	15,829	22,725	Belgrade	21,130	31,058
Zagreb	22,234	32,767	Novi Sad	20,339	30,781
Skopje	17,382	25,017	Pristina	17,116	23,977

[Box, p 14]

Incomprehensive Price Increases

[Question] How do you make ends meet...?

[Answer] All right, given my income, in spite of these large price rises. But, to tell you the truth, I do meet other people by the tables in the open-air market, in stores, on the street, and I notice that people are having a hard time of it. I see what people buy. What I buy, what other people buy, what you buy. And when I look at what people are buying and how much they are buying, then I can see those difficulties quite well.

[Question] Do the people at the tables in the open-air produce market know that they are weighing those things out for General Sumonja?

[Answer] Many people do.... Every day I buy milk, meat, bread and other things. The store clerks know me. We pause a moment, we talk, we make jokes, we make comments, especially as far as prices are concerned. There are some really incomprehensible price increases. All of this is justified with high-sounding and objective reasons! But people, ordinary people, say that there are many subjective shortcomings. I also think that that is where the problem is.

Radovan Brankov

(Radio Belgrade--first program, magazine 439 and the guest General Milos Sumonja)

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